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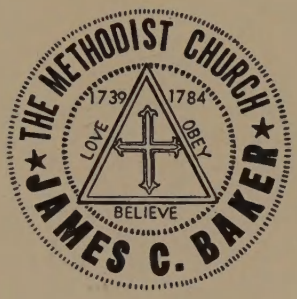


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*AMERICAN LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS*

SIXTH SERIES—1905–1906

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION IN JAPAN

BY

GEORGE WILLIAM KNOX, D.D., LL.D.

Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion in Union Theological Seminary, New York, and Sometime Professor of Philosophy and Ethics in the Imperial University, Tokyo

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
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To My Sister
MARY ALICE KNOX

# PREFACE.

THE writer has been mindful of the announcement of the Committee that it is formed "for the purpose of instituting popular courses in the History of Religion," and he has attempted, therefore, in brief compass, to set forth for the general public the results of the scientific study of the Religions of Japan. His specific object is to exhibit the continuity and the development of the religious life of the people.

Modern research shows at once the unity and the variety of religious experience in different ages and lands. There is unity, since men's minds respond in like fashion to the influences which are common to humanity. Given similar surroundings,—physical, economic, social, political—and the race reveals its oneness by the similarity of its response. Yet circumstances are never quite alike, and, besides, there is the incalculable factor of individual genius, so that there is a wide diversity in the expression of this response. The two factors must ever be kept in

view, that the diversity be not forgotten in the unity, nor the unity be obscured by the details of the diversity.

Japan offers a field for study which has peculiar advantages. Its history is comparatively brief, and the successive moments in its development are well marked. By the aid of historical criticism, the primitive rites and beliefs can be discerned. These were rapidly supplanted or transformed by the introduction of an alien civilisation—a process which can be traced step by step. The imported system, however, did not remain foreign, but was modified at every point by the genius and needs of the people. Especially instructive is the influence of the rise and development of the feudal system. Finally, in our day, new factors of peculiar potency are introduced, with results which can be understood as yet only in part. Nevertheless, through all, there has been a continuity so marked that "The Development of Religion in Japan" expresses the fundamental fact more truly than does the title suggested in the beginning—"The Religions of Japan."

The lecturer has sought to keep this topic in mind at whatever sacrifice of novelty in details, the result being not so much an exhibition of facts, independently ascertained, as a study in religious development. Philosophy, however, must hold fast to facts, for they

must determine theory instead of being fitted to preconceived schemes, however fascinating. A sufficient exhibition of facts is made, therefore, with references to the sources, to enable the student to submit this study to independent criticism.

G. W. K.

The Union Theological Seminary,
New York, *August* 11, 1906.

[Note: In the quotations from Confucius, the translations of Ernest Faber and James Legge have been constantly consulted—and freely used.]

## ANNOUNCEMENT.

THE American Lectures on the History of Religions are delivered under the auspices of the American Committee for Lectures on the History of Religions. This Committee was organised in 1892, for the purpose of instituting "popular courses in the History of Religions, somewhat after the style of the Hibbert Lectures in England, to be delivered annually by the best scholars of Europe and this country, in various cities, such as Baltimore, Boston, Brooklyn, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and others."

The terms of association under which the Committee exists are as follows:

1. The object of this Association shall be to provide courses of lectures on the history of religions, to be delivered in various cities.
2. The Association shall be composed of delegates from Institutions agreeing to co-operate, or from Local Boards organised where such co-operation is not possible.
3. These delegates—one from each Institution or Local Board—shall constitute themselves a

Council under the name of the "American Committee for Lectures on the History of Religions."

4. The Council shall elect out of its number a Chairman, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.
5. All matters of local detail shall be left to the Institutions or Local Boards, under whose auspices the lectures are to be delivered.
6. A course of lectures on some religion, or phase of religion, from an historical point of view, or on a subject germane to the study of religions, shall be delivered annually, or at such intervals as may be found practicable, in the different cities represented by this Association.
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Prof. E. W. Hopkins, 299 Lawrence Street, New Haven, Conn.

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1894–1895—Prof. T. W. Rhys-Davids, Ph.D.—Buddhism.

1896–1897—Prof. Daniel G. Brinton, M.D., LL.D.—Religions of Primitive Peoples.

1897–1898—Rev. Prof. T. K. Cheyne, D.D.—Jewish Religious Life after the Exile.

1898–1899—Prof. Karl Budde, D.D.—Religion of Israel to the Exile.

1904–1905—Prof. Georg Steindorff, Ph.D.—The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians.

The sixth course of lectures, contained in the present volume, was delivered by Rev. George William Knox, D.D., LL.D., Professor of the Philosophy and the History of Religion in the Union Theological Seminary New York. Prof. Knox has had a most unusual opportunity, both by study and practical experience, to fit himself to lecture on the religions of Japan. Ordained a Presbyterian minister in 1877, he was for many years engaged in missionary work in Japan, first in preaching and later as Professor of Homiletics in the Union Theological Seminary at Tokio. Finally, in the year 1886, he was appointed Professor of Philosophy and

Ethics in the Imperial University of Japan, which chair he held until his furlough when he refused a reappointment. Returning to this country in 1893, after filling a pastorate in the Presbyterian Church at Rye, N. Y., for five years, he was appointed Lecturer on Apologetics in Union Theological Seminary in 1897, and in 1899 to his present professorship in that institution. In 1903 he was the Nathaniel Taylor lecturer at Yale. As an author his works are, in the first place, practical works for missionary purposes, published in Japanese: "A Brief System of Theology," "Outlines of Homiletics," "Christ the Son of God," "The Basis of Ethics," "The Mystery of Life"; and in the second place works of a more advanced and more general character published in English: "A Japanese Philosopher" (1893), "Autobiography of Arai-Hakuseki" (1902), both published by the Asiatic Society of Japan, of which Prof. Knox was vice-president in the years 1891–1893, "The Direct and Fundamental Proofs of the Christian Religion" (1903), "Japanese Life in Town and Country" (1904), "The Spirit of the Orient" (1906). Jointly with Professors Brown and McGiffert, he is also author of "The Christian Point of View," published in 1902.

The lectures in this course were delivered before the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore; Drexel Institute, Philadelphia; Yale University, New Haven; Union Theological Seminary, New York; Meadville

Theological Seminary, Meadville; University of Chicago, Chicago; Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, Brooklyn.

JOHN P. PETERS,
C. H. TOY,
MORRIS JASTROW,
*Committee on Publication.*

December, 1906.

## SOURCES.

THE most important sources for the study of primitive religion in Japan, and its developed form Shinto, are accessible through the distinguished labours of Sir Ernest Satow, Prof. Basil Hall Chamberlain, W. G. Aston, Esq., and Doctor Karl Florenz. It has been unnecessary, therefore, to deal with the facts in detail, as, indeed, the limits of these lectures would not permit. I have referred in support of the statements in the text constantly to the *Kojiki*, the *Nihongi*, and the *Revival of Pure Shinto*. The references to the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* are to the translations, respectively, by Chamberlain and Aston. After the text of these lectures had been completed, the work entitled *Shinto, the Way of the Gods*, by Mr. Aston came into my hands. To my great pleasure, I found in it a most useful classification and description of the gods, rites, myths, and superstitions of the ancient Japanese. I also found many of my own conclusions anticipated and ably supported. I have therefore freely referred in my notes to this book

also, although I have not needed to modify the statements in the text by its aid. I would recommend it to students who desire to know the facts of the primitive religion of the Japanese without the labour of perusing the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*.

Modern Japanese writers on Shinto add little to our understanding of the subject. They are for the most part under the influence of certain presuppositions which largely vitiate the value of their work. To this an exception must be made in the work of Prof. K. Asakawa, whose book, *The Early Institutional Life of Japan*, is a scientific study of interest and importance. It adds largely to our knowledge of the period of which it treats, and I feel myself under obligation to him.

The sources for the study of Buddhism in Japan are not yet made accessible. The subject itself is one of difficulty, and would require for its elucidation the life-long devotion of a competent scholar. My independent studies in Japan led me only into the beginnings of it, as I had neither time nor opportunity for its thorough investigation. Certain of the original scriptures on which Japanese Buddhism is based are translated in the series entitled *The Sacred Books of the East*. In addition, in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* there are numerous articles of value, especially by the Rev. A. Lloyd, M.A., in vol. xxii.,

and by James Troup, Esq., in vols. xiv. and xxii. Besides, numerous brief statements have been prepared by modern Japanese scholars, but none of these is either comprehensive or critical.

In Confucianism I have been compelled to depend upon my own studies. I am not familiar with writings of European or American scholars who have investigated with any thoroughness the modern school of Confucianists who, from the twelfth century of our era, have determined the direction of Chinese philosophical and ethical thought. I have made frequent reference to certain articles of my own published in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, and elsewhere.

For a somewhat more minute account of the religions of Japan, emphasising some periods which are entirely omitted in my brief survey, the lectures given at Union Theological Seminary, New York, by the Rev. W. E. Griffis, D.D., published in a volume entitled *The Religions of Japan*, may be consulted.

In the notes, the abbreviations used are as follows:

K. = *Kojiki.*

N. = *Nihongi.*

T. A. S. = *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.*

S. B. E. = *Sacred Books of the East.*

A. = Asakawa's *Early Institutional Life of Japan.*

*Shinto*—Mr. Aston's volume, *Shinto, the Way of the Gods.*

# CONTENTS.


INTRODUCTION. RELIGION AND DEVELOPMENT.

PAGE

Religions—Shinto, Buddhism, Confucianism distinguished from the religion of Japan: the relations of doctrines, rites, and emotions: religion as natural and primary, not the offspring of fear or of theory : its definition : its development. 1–10

LECTURE I. PRIMITIVE BELIEFS AND RITES. NATURAL RELIGION.

Meaning of "primitive": conditions in primitive Japan, social, political, ethical : the beginnings of knowledge, beliefs as to the state after death : beginnings of philosophy, of ethics, of religion : the definition of *kami* (god) : power the most prominent attribute : the objects of worship : religion and ethics : religion as reverence, as dependence : prayers : offerings : dances ; charms : purifications : origin of *tabu* : revelation : the religious consciousness. . . . . 11–44

LECTURE II. SHINTO, THE WAY OF THE GODS. NATURAL RELIGION.

The conquering tribe : the beginning of the Empire ; introduction of Chinese civilisation : its slow progress : reasons for its adoption : its effects on the government : Chinese political theory inapplicable to Japan : its influence on politics and religion : sources and construction of the *Ko-ji-ki* : reasons for its writing : its artificial cosmogony : its deities abstractions, and objects in nature : sketch of its story: the Emperor as "incarnate god": Shinto supplanted by Buddhism : the *Norito* : corruption of Shinto : its attempted revival with outline of the polemics and theology : its failure : Shinto as the religion of the people : as patriotism. . . 45–79

LECTURE III. BUDDHISM, THE WORSHIP OF THE ABSOLUTE. SUPERNATURAL RELIGION.

PAGE

Contrasts to Shinto : reasons for the adoption of Buddhism : its triumphs and civilising effects : its artistic and intellectual power : original Buddhism and its modifications : the Greater Vehicle : popular deities : a theory of development : Buddha becomes the absolute : comprehensiveness of Buddhism, Ten-dai sect: the Shin-gon sect: the Zen sect: comparison of the two Vehicles : impermanence, transmigration, *karma* ontology : essence of Buddhism : origin of supernatural religion and its relation to science and philosophy : appendix—a Buddhist epitaph. . . . . 80–113

LECTURE IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF BUDDHISM. SALVATION BY FAITH. SUPERNATURAL RELIGION.

Buddhism in deterioration, its wealth, its favour at court, its participation in the feudal wars : missionary labours : *hoben* : sects of the Pure Land : Amitâbha and his vows : the Shin sect and its teaching—the failure of the law, the object of faith, the results of faith : why adopted : its contradiction of Buddha's teaching : its participation in his spirit : the Nichiren sect : present position and prospects of Buddhism. . . . . 114–137

LECTURE V. CONFUCIANISM AS POLITY AND ETHICS. ETHICAL RELIGION.

Confucianism supplies formal ethics : China the land of Confucius : his relation to tradition and to China : his presuppositions : his doctrines of man, study, the virtues, nature, the Sage, rites : transformation of his system in Japan: the feudal wars : *Bushido* and its illustrations : the essential principle preserved : its defects : courage : *hara-kiri* ; position of woman : relation of the sexes : polemic against Buddhism ; an attempt at popular teaching. . . . 138–169

LECTURE VI. CONFUCIANISM AS A WORLD-SYSTEM. ETHICAL RELIGION.

PAGE

Separation of ethics and religion : attitude of Confucius towards gods, demons: prayer, the worship of ancestors, immortality : Confucianism not merely a system of ethics : its doctrine of Heaven, its theanthropic nature, its essence as righteousness, its religious emotion : the idealistic school, its quietism : the world view : the difficulty of attainment : the "return to Confucius": the want of organisation : ancestor worship : summary—review and outlook. . 170–196

INDEX . . . . . 197

# INTRODUCTION.

## The Development of Religion in Japan.

"THE Religion of Japan" was proposed as the topic of these lectures by the Committee under whose auspices they are given, a topic which suggests various questions. For one may ask, What is the religion of Japan? Is it Shinto? It only can claim to be a native product and to be representative therefore of the native genius. It arose in remote antiquity; in the beginning of the times which we may term historical it was made the theoretical basis of the Imperial power, and, after an eclipse for a thousand years, in our own day it is the form in which the national feeling manifests itself. But, nevertheless, the interest in Shinto is chiefly archæological, for to the majority of the people its teaching is unknown, while the Government has disclaimed religious significance for its rites and has announced that they are merely a form for state ceremonials.

Or shall we take Buddhism as our text? We may well do so if we consider influence in the past and

actual possession in the present. Its temples are the most imposing structures in the towns and villages, its priests are seen in every street, it enrolls the nation as its parishioners, and its presence is as manifest as is that of Christianity among ourselves. In the past it brought civilisation to Japan and its impress is profound on all the higher activities of life, while for centuries it held the allegiance of the strongest men in literature, in society, and in the state. Yet it is essentially a foreign religion, and though it has been modified in Japan its thorough exposition would require a description of its origin and career in India and China. Its scriptures for the greater part are in a foreign tongue, Chinese, having never been translated into the vernacular, and its most common phrases are mispronounced Sanskrit, not understood by the people. Moreover, though its vitality is by no means lost, yet it no longer commands the assent of intelligent men, and for three centuries its influence has waned until now it is tolerated chiefly as the belief of the ignorant and the lowly.

Or, once more, shall we turn from the multitude to the highly critical minority and ask after the religion of scholars and gentlemen? Once it was Buddhism, but for three hundred years it has been Confucianism in its religious and philosophical forms. Confucianism has influenced profoundly also the life of the people,

giving it ideals and forms for the social relations, and constituting the accepted ethical system. Hence if one were to ask after the system which for three hundred years has exercised the most powerful influence in forming the Japan which now is, one would answer, the teachings of Confucius as set forth by the Chinese philosophers of the twelfth century A.D. But Confucianism never became the religion of the multitude, and in the modern era its philosophy has given way to the learning of the West.

Already it is apparent that the religion of Japan is not expressed fully in any particular system, a fact which becomes clearer as we discover that none of the three religions has remained pure. Buddhism took up Shinto into itself, and both were more or less changed by the process; and later, Confucianism assumed its final form immediately under Buddhist influence, an influence none the less direct because the indebtedness was repudiated. But still more, the three have entered into the religious consciousness with little discrimination, the people being won finally to Buddhism when they were told that their native gods were incarnations of Buddha, so that it became easy for a man to honour at once Confucius, Buddha, and the national divinities. For, fortunately, it is characteristic of human nature that men may embrace simultaneously antagonistic systems without suffering from their divergence. Thus

the religion of the Japanese is not to be found by a study of the systems, as given in the sacred books, for it is at once more and less than they.

Thus we distinguish religion from religions, and we must seek the "religion of Japan" neither in Buddhism, nor in Shinto, nor yet in Confucianism, though these afford our material for study, and without them we cannot know it. Let us attempt, then, to indicate the meaning we shall attach to the term.

Here we are at once on debated ground. The term belongs to the long list of common words which everyone understands, but which no one can define. Every writer on the philosophy of religion frames his own description, but none satisfies any other. In so long a list one would suppose that all tastes could be satisfied, but since it is better to be out of the world than out of the fashion, I, too, shall accept none of those offered, but shall make a definition of my own. If it helps no one else, it will at least indicate the sense in which the word religion will be used in these lectures.

Negatively, then, the study of religion is not exhausted by the investigation of rites and dogmas. These are its manifestation and its explanation, but not itself. We are all familiar with the distinction: we know an orthodoxy which is lifeless, and a formal ritualism which is cold and hollow, while, on the other hand, we sometimes recognise a radiant piety

which is neither versed in doctrine nor observant of rites. For religion essentially has to do with the feelings which, indeed, are the ultimate factors in our consciousness, and need no explanation and ask no leave for their being. In a rough fashion we have already laid out our subject: religion is in our feelings, or, more precisely, in our emotions; rites manifest and excite them, and theology is at once their explanation and the delimitation of their object; thus, in a true system, the three are in harmony. But how seldom is religion thus wholly true! Theology does not precisely set forth the real object of adoration, nor is it in precise harmony with the rites, and men strive more or less successfully to overcome the divergence. In extreme instances it may be necessary to overthrow theology and ceremonial to save religion. The three are in unstable equilibrium, for rites and theology will vary from many causes quite disconnected with the emotions. Especially is theology subject to such changes, through controversies, and alterations in the general world view; and rites are sometimes instituted because of feelings quite distinguishable from the religious, and preserved through the notion of their inherent sacredness long after all life has departed from them.

But, manifestly, we must not carry our separation too far, as if man were divided into separate faculties,

for there is no change in his theology which does not affect his emotions, so it be a real change and not merely a difference in words and propositions. So, too, the rites must impart their effect, and with their changes our consciousness will change, making it impossible to preserve precisely the identical religion under varying forms. Further, we may not separate our religious from our other feelings too sharply, as we have no separate apparatus, intellectual or emotional, for religion, but it is ourselves functioning in a certain way. Hence it is not surprising that we often suppose ourselves religious when we are merely æsthetic, or sympathetic. Finally, we cannot keep our theology separate from our ordinary stock of knowledge, for the whole will ultimately affect the part, and, if we resist, there ensues a conflict between theology and science, with possibly disastrous effects for the one, the other, or both.

We repeat these commonplaces to emphasise the fact that religion is not something apart. It is of our common nature, needing no particular defence or explanation, a response to our environment as truly natural as is reason. Man reacts upon his environment instinctively, and these reactions are revealed in his consciousness, and we attempt to set them forth in our science. Hence we are not to look for the

origin of religion to some other cause: it is not the result of ignorance, nor of fear, nor from our desire to know causes; nor from special errors of the senses, as in the appearance of ghosts and the deceptions of magic; nor in errors of the reason, as in theories of animism and spiritism; nor in especial insight, as in hypnotic phenomena and the mysteries of second sight; nor in theories of the unity of man and the world and the conception of the all-pervading Infinite in the finite. Some of these are associated with some forms of religion, some of them are attempted explanations of the objects of religion, but none of them, nor all of them, constitute its cause. That, let me repeat, is in our nature as men, our response instinctively to our environment.

Objectively, then, religion is the response of man's nature to certain stimuli, and, subjectively, it is a state of emotion. The definition of the object is theology, and the description of the feelings is the description of religion. The two, as we have seen, are intimately interwoven, and, ideally, should be in complete accord; but the history of theology is the story of man's attempt after such agreement, and alas! of his failures. This, however, is true of all human effort, of science and philosophy no less than of theology. For reason is of nature, and the history of thought is the story of failures, though through failures also of success, and

theology is only one manifestation of this instinct after knowledge, without special immunity or privilege. The two cannot be widely separated, for much which is termed science is equally theology, and theology is largely compounded of philosophy and science. But as these may not be too widely separated, so man must be considered throughout as one. His religion is merely he, and, as he deteriorates or develops, it, too, changes likewise. His environment, his special stock of information, his peculiarities of mental structure, his aptitudes, his associations, all influence his religion, so that it cannot be understood if it be considered separately and apart. For all these and more constitute himself, and religion is simply he functioning in a certain way, we repeat.

Let me be dogmatic, and without attempting here to justify my statement, put it forth for what it is worth. Our feelings of awe or reverence, and of dependence constitute religion. From awe comes adoration and self-devotion; from dependence come offerings and petitions. Theology sets forth the object of our worship and of our dependence, while rites stimulate devotion and obtain the granting of our petitions. Now religion develops as a higher object takes the place of a lower, and as our feelings correspondingly are ennobled. Thus, in using the term "development," I am not seeking analogies from biology or other of

the natural sciences. Man's biological development was substantially complete before the period in which our investigation begins, and the study of history is not aided by transferring alien formulæ to its sphere. But neither does development as here used come under the general definition of evolution. If for it we may take Prof. Joseph Le Conte's statement—"Evolution is continuous and progressive change, according to certain laws, and by means of resident forces"[1]—then our treatment is not included in it. For the development of religion in Japan was neither continuous nor by resident forces. Its advances were in periods widely separated, and they were in large measure caused by contact with foreign peoples and civilisations, as seems to be the all but universal law of historical progress. We would justify the term "development" only on the most general grounds, and we use it because beneath the changing forms we seem to be able to trace an expansion and ennobling of the religious consciousness.

The purpose of these lectures is not, therefore, to add to our knowledge of the facts by collecting hitherto unknown specimens of the religious beliefs and practices of the Japanese, nor even to set forth the systems which successively have expressed

[1] Joseph Le Conte, *Evolution and Its Relation to Religious Thought*, p. 8.

the nation's faith, but to show how the religious feelings have been excited, and how in the course of the ages they have changed and progressed.

## LECTURE I.

## Primitive Beliefs and Rites.

### Natural Religion.

THE history of the Japanese has been studied sufficiently for our purpose. Work enough remains to tax the resources of scholarship for years, but the outlines are clear before us. For we do not deal with an antiquity which is lost in the dimness of millenniums, but with a development from primitive times within the compass of fifteen hundred years at the longest, and for twelve hundred years we have written records. For the beginning is well down in the Christian centuries, when the Japanese were "primitive," a word used not of absolute beginnings but only of "the earliest of a given race or tribe" of which we have "trusty information."[1] "It has reference to a state of culture rather than to time," so that primitive men may be our contemporaries. "They are far from being the earliest

[1] Brinton's *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, p. 11.

men or resembling them. Hundreds of generations have toiled to produce even their low estate of culture."[1] Whence the Japanese came we do not certainly know, nor when they reached their land, nor what strains of blood have mingled to produce them. All their migrations had passed from memory long before the times when they had reached the state of culture which is the earliest scholarship as yet reveals. But even in this earliest stage it is possible to detect, as we should expect, foreign elements, the result of contacts long forgotten with other peoples.

In the third or fourth century of our era, then, we may imagine ourselves in the land which in the future was to be called Japan. Excepting the natural features of the landscape, there was little which we should recognise. There were neither cities, nor temples, nor art. The people lived in huts, collected in tiny hamlets for the most part by the banks of rivers and on the sea-coast. Only the centre of the main island, with portions of the west and south-west, had been subdued, the remainder being still in the possession of the aborigines, with whom was carried on constant warfare. Around the villages were the signs of rude agriculture with rice as the principal crop, hunting and fishing being the chief occupations. Commerce was

[1] Brinton's *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, p. 11.

unknown, and money unmentioned; iron instruments were in use, and clothing was varied and ornamented.[1] The community was just emerging from the condition named by sociologists the "horde," and the most important combinations were through community of warfare or of occupation. For the family was only partially organised. Marriage was neither by capture nor by purchase, nor was the consent of the parents regarded as necessary. It was simply the open acknowledgment of a relationship already secretly existing,[2] nor for ages was the distinction between marriage and concubinage made definite. A husband might have such wives as he pleased, with families in different places, as sailors have been known to have their establishments in various ports. Thus in an early legend the goddess says to her husband: "Thou, my dear Master of the Great Land, indeed, being a man, probably hast on the various island headlands that thou seest, and on every beach headland that thou lookest on, a wife like the young herbs. But as for me, alas! I have no man except thee!"[3] In such a society family lines were not closely regarded, so that marriage with half-sisters, sometimes even with full sisters in the divine age, were common and regarded as proper, and

[1] *Cf.* K. Chamberlain's Introd., iv.
[2] K., p. xl.
[3] K., i., xxv.

a man might marry his aunt or his niece.[1] The matriarchal state of society was just passing away, and among the legends are stories showing why the man should have the precedence, and indicating clearly the knowledge of a different condition of things. Thus on the memorable occasion when the two deities who begat the islands of the Empire went a-courting, the goddess Izanami spoke first, and the result was disaster. So the courtship was begun anew and when the two met again the second time, Izanagi, the god, spoke first and all was well. The legendary history recounts the high position of woman long after, for the great deity of the heavens, the Sun, is a goddess and she invested her descendants with the government of Japan, and later, the Empress Jingo holds high place in the story. Indeed the succession to the throne was far from orderly down to the time of the writing of our sources. Preferably the elder son succeeded, but often the younger supplanted him, and occasionally neither cared for the dignity.[2] Sisters, too, were eligible, and nephews, and struggles for the throne indicate that the

[1] K., p. xxxviii. "In fact sister and wife were convertible terms and ideas." K., i., ii.; i., xiii. The marriage with half-sisters lasted into historic times; but *cf.* the remarks of Prof. Asakawa, pp, 52–56. See also N., 1, p. 22: for the marriage of a niece, p. 145; of an aunt, p. 212.

[2] K., clxvi. For an instance of choice see N., ii., pp. 1–2, and of refusal N., ii., pp. 195–196.

still more remote claimants were not unknown.[1] For the family had not attained consistency and without a name its self-consciousness was not clearly established.

As was the family so was the state, it had neither unity nor self-consciousness. Tribe fought against tribe and group against group, and individual against individual, the law of the stronger and the more ambitious prevailing. The rule of none was thoroughly established, and there are traces of conferences where matters of importance were discussed.[2] Certain families or groups, formed by kindred interests and occupations, were more or less in control, and the people were in subjection. The common man could call nothing his own, and servants were sometimes entombed with their dead masters.[3] At a far later period the complaint was heard that there were men in every village and district who acknowledged no authority but their own and who resisted all centralised power.[4] Names derived from occupations and offices and of a quasi-patriarchal character were applied to various groups or ranks.[5] For, as we have noticed, in the development of the society from the horde, other combinations precede the family, combinations which

[1] A., pp. 56–57.
[2] K., i., xvi–xvii.
[3] K., lxiii., lxxv. Note 4.
[4] K., Trans. introd., p. lxii.
[5] A., pp. 63, *ff. et passim.*

correspond roughly to the guilds and societies of civilised men.[1]

The ethical standards were of course primitive and ill-defined. As the lines of the organism were far from rigid, the conscience could not well distinguish between mine and thine, nor, without long-established usage, were the rules of propriety rigid. In speech there was a *naïveté* which in more sophisticated times would be "shocking obscenity," and in like manner much went without notice or rebuke which in developed communities would be considered abhorrently criminal.[2] Long after, when Chinese notions were introduced, crimes are enumerated which belong to the most savage communities.[3] Punishments were arbitrary and cruel,[4] for justice was not yet born, and retribution was wrath excited by personal offences. But we cannot dwell on this subject, for our purpose is not to describe ancient Japan excepting in so far as is necessary to determine its social status.

[1] Thus when the Sun-goddess sent the "August Grand-child" to conquer the earth, in his descent he was accompanied by "five chiefs of companies."—K., i., xxxiii. Two of these were females. In the N. they are put down as hereditary chiefs of government corporations—hatters, jewellers, shield-makers, metal workers, tree-fibre workers—i., p. 81; *cf.*, A., p. 59, *et seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Aston, *Shinto*, pp. 242–243.

[3] K., xcvii.

[4] K., Trans. introd., p. xli.

Knowledge was correspondingly rude. Only the immediate vicinity was known, the little circle of earth with the blue plain of Heaven above and Hades not far beneath. The distances were small, as Heaven had been reached by an arrow which, shot from the earth, made a hole in its bottom,[1] and objects which fell from it are still found upon the earth. In the Divine Age the two were connected by a bridge which, alas! has fallen down, and any one may see its fragments still in the province of Tango, and measure their length. The way to Hades could be pointed out, though the entrance was blocked by a mighty rock, for the three form a part of the same world, all alike natural, or supernatural, as you please. Heaven is like the earth, and the gods, like men, gather in the dry beds of the river for consultation; and Hades, though here the legends are conflicting,[2] may also appear like the earth,[3] with cottages and palaces, and meadows and rivers. Nor is the sea itself essentially different, for in its depths, too, are plains and fields and pleasant abodes,[4] if one only could find, as happy individuals have found, the means of access.

[1] K., i., xxxi.
[2] In the Izanagi legend, Hades is the place of corruption.
[3] K., i., xxiii.
[4] K., i., xl.

Nor within these narrow limits are there fixed categories. As Heaven, earth, Hades, and the world beneath the sea are all of a kind, and one may abide indifferently in any, so is there no real difference in their inhabitants, but gods, men, and demons differ not at all; thus the ruler of Heaven is not different in virtue nor in nature from the great deity of Hades. In neither is there permanence, but just as on earth the rulership fluctuates, so is it above and beneath, the stories, like the earthly relationships, being vague, uncertain, and contradictory. Indeed, anything might be anything else as well as itself. Fishes, beasts, birds, and serpents acted and spake as men. Nothing was unnatural, for nothing was natural. A god picked up a woman, stuck her in his hair, where she became his comb, and then, taking her out again, she resumed her natural form, without any question being raised as to her self-consciousness during the metamorphosis.[1] Crocodiles or sea monsters became women,[2] and men became birds,[3] a rock fled before a man,[4] the sun was at once the orb of day and a goddess who could be enticed from retiracy by an appeal to her vanity,[5] while

[1] K., i., xviii.

[2] K., i., xlii,

[3] K., ii., xc. See the whole story of Yamato-dake, N., i., pp. 189 *ff*. See p. 25 below.

[4] A., p. 31.

[5] K., i., xvi.

the moon and the storm were beings who acted like men.[1] It was a fairy world taken as matter of fact, with all distinctions between the possible and the impossible wanting.

Even the distinction between mind and matter was unobserved, as we have noticed in the instances given. Man was kin to all things in feelings, powers, and substance, if we may be permitted so abstract a word. He recognised no differences in himself, and he was not bipartite. When he died, he simply disappeared, or, if he went to Hades, it was bodily and in as understandable a fashion as a trip to any remote shore. When Izanami-no-Mikami died, after giving birth to fire, she went to Hades, whither her husband followed her, he living, she dead. Finding her, against her earnest protest he looks upon her and sees her to be a mass of corruption, but still conscious and capable of anger and vengeance. For she orders the ugly female of Hades to pursue him; but fleeing, he casts down his head-dress, which turns to grapes, which tempt her and she stops to eat. As she again pursues, he throws down his comb, which turns into bamboo shoots, and she stops again to pull and eat them. Then the wife sends forth thunder-gods, which she had begotten in her filth; but he threatens them with his sword and

[1] N., i., p. 32. See also *Shinto*, pp. 136 *ff*.

defeats them by pelting them with peaches. Finally Izanami arouses herself and comes after him, catching him just as he passes the Even Pass of Hades, which he blocks with a great rock. When over it, safe from farther pursuit, he divorces her, and after mutual challenges they separate, he to purify himself and she to become the great deity of Hades.[1]

But Hades is not always this place of terror, for it has its pleasant abodes and peaceful plains.[2] Nor do all who die go thither, but some seem simply to disappear, men and deities alike. Man is accustomed to seeing familiar objects disappear, and it is only something extraordinary which provokes the query, What has become of it? So is it with deities and men; they may depart, and no curiosity be aroused, save when some marvel arouses the imagination. However, the funeral rites indicate a belief in a continued existence after death for some at least, and the offerings show a purpose to provide for wants as material as those of earth. Evidently there was a vague belief that the dead were in a measure dependent on the living, and that, if neglected, the living might suffer from their vengeance.[3]

[1] The story is relatively late in origin. See Mr. Aston's excellent notes and discussion, N., i., pp. 24 *ff.*; *Shinto*, pp. 92 *ff.*; also K., i., ix.

[2] K., i., xxiii.

[3] Cf. *Shinto*, pp. 54 *ff. et passim.*

Akin to his powers of observation are primitive man's powers of reasoning. The faculty is there, but untrained, like the child's. As his undiscriminating observations of the world around him are the beginnings of descriptive science, so are his questionings the beginnings of philosophy. Whence come all things, the seas, the plains, the hills, the fertile soil, the sun, the moon, the stars, the winds, the thunder, and the myriads of beings by which we are surrounded—whence and what are they? To these queries the answers are on the surface, for man ever explains the unknown by the known. As things around us swarm and sprout and are begotten, so came all things into existence. Thus, when once the earth was like floating oil, something sprouted from which came the first deities, Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji-no-kami and Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-kami.[1] Or as flies swarm in filth, so did gods appear from the filth which Izanagi washed from his face and body when he came from Hades,[2] and from the blood which dripped from his sword when he slew his son, through whose birth his wife died.[3] And thus maggots and thunder-gods were born alike in the corruption of Izanami's decaying body. As lowly forms of life continue and

[1] K., i., i.
[2] K., i., x.
[3] K., i., viii. See also K., i., xvii.

multiply by division, so may gods be formed. Or, once more, as men and animals beget their offspring, so are the islands and deities begotten.[1] The method of creation does not effect the rank or kind of the creature. Thus the islands of the Empire are begotten by their divine parents, but the Sun-goddess, who is mightiest of the host of Heaven, and the ancestress of the Imperial line, and the founder of the Empire, was washed from the filth which filled Izanagi's right eye when he fled from Hades. So was the moon born from the left eye, and the mischievous deity, Take-haya-susa-no-o-Mikoto,[2] from the nose.

With these questions as to the beginnings of gods and things are joined other queries: Why, for example, are the offspring of the Imperial line so short-lived? Because, once upon a time, a deity, who was also an emperor, met and loved a beautiful maiden, Blossoming-brilliantly-like-the-flowers-of-the-trees by name, whom he wished to marry. But her father consented only on condition that he should take likewise her sister, Princess-enduring-as-the-rocks; but though the emperor agreed, he could not abide the ill looks of Princess-en-

[1] K., i., v. Phallic worship has left its mark indelibly upon this early faith. The mysteries of procreation commanded a large share of attention. Vide *Shinto, sub voce;* also Griffis's *The Religions of Japan, sub voce;* Buckley's *Phallicism in Japan.*

[2] He most probably is the Rain-god. See *Shinto*, pp. 136 *ff.*

during-as-the-rocks, and so his offspring are all as fragile as the flowers.[1] The phenomena of nature—storm and earthquake, mountains and seas—suggest questions and find ready answers. But nothing is so prolific in arousing curiosity as words and names. Why is the place called Suga? Because when the god Susa-no-o-no-Mikoto was seeking rest, he came hither and cried "Sugasugashi" (I am refreshed), and therefore the name of that place is called Suga until this day.[2] Or again, in still more trivial fashion, why has the Beche-de-Mer so strange a mouth?[3] The ancient books contain scores of these instances, proving that it is the strange or unusual or marvellous which excites primitive man's curiosity, and leads to the question Why?, and that any answer to the question will suffice. Quick to question, he is quickly satisfied, and shows no desire to pursue the inquiry. Best of all is it if a question can be answered with a story, and thus mythology grows up, the wonders we see explained by wonders. Such mythology springs not from a single root; it is not formed solely from a desire to explain the processes of nature, giving nature myths, nor from a misunderstanding of names and words, nor from any single source, for it is offspring of the restless curiosity of

[1] K., i., xxxvii.
[2] K., i., xix. The folk etymologies are very numerous.
[3] K., i., xxxvi.

man and his ready contentment with a tale of the wonderful. Thus all theories fail, save this only that mythology is the primitive manifestation of man's inquisitive response to the world around, the beginning of the knowledge which shall ultimately become his philosophy and science.

With all this are dimly remembered tales of the past and snatches of verse, war cries and love songs.[1] Dead heroes gather to themselves varied stories of brave men and of great deeds, the legends growing more and more wonderful in the repetition, until perhaps they mingle with the nature myths and none can separate thenceforth the diverse elements. Such is the story of Yamato-dake, conqueror of the East. A younger son, he begins his career by murdering his elder brother, and then, sent by his father who was alarmed by his ferocity and who desired to be rid of him, he slays two mighty men by a stratagem, and afterwards a third. His father bestows on him a commission to subdue the East, and he

[1] In all the poems of the *Kojiki* not one can be called "religious."

The following, of the mythical age of "Jimmu," illustrates the primitive poetry of war:

"Ho! now is the time;
Ho! now is the time;
Ha! Ha! Psha!
Even now
My boys!
Even now
My boys!"—N., i., p. 124.

starts forth aided by potent charms bestowed by his aunt and accompanied by his wife, who quiets the stormy sea by casting herself overboard, an offering to the angry sea-god. At last, his purpose accomplished, after many adventures he returns, but stricken with a fatal disease he dies and is transformed into a white bird, which receives divine honours.[1] Or again, the Empress Jingo conquers Korea, and different accounts ascribe her victory to her own prowess, or to the might of her unborn son whom she carries in her womb till the conquest is completed.[2] In after years the son becomes the God of War, and continues such to this day with temples innumerable in his honour. Thus history begins, strange stories of the dim past, mingled with nature myths, originating none knows whence nor how, and aimlessly repeated and amplified,—aimlessly save that primitive man, like his enlightened descendants, delighted in good stories. Nor is the tale worse liked if it contain an element of horror, as children make the flesh creep with ghostly stories in the dark. In a world which as yet knew no distinction between man and beast, or man and God, where matter and spirit were not separate categories, how should one distinguish between history and romance? Indeed who cared for prosaic matter of fact, or why should it be remembered?

[1] N., i., pp. 189 *ff.* K., ii., lxxix. *et seq.*
[2] N., i., pp. 224 *ff.* K., ii., xcv *et seq.*

As the marvellous in nature excites curiosity, so the marvellous in men's deeds is remembered and recounted, and all the rest sinks speedily into an undistinguished and forgotten past. Only with the stories are the beginnings too of poetry, the simple songs of love and war which are readily remembered.

But in all this where pray do we find religion? The beginnings of history and of romance, of poetry, of science, of philosophy, all these we have discussed, but, save in certain titles used, there has been no hint of theology or religion. Indeed if by theology we mean definite doctrine there is none of it. There is nothing of a creator, not the faintest trace of monotheism, and surely nothing of its opposite pantheism, nor any mention of a future state of rewards and punishments, nor the thought of sin or of redemption, nor so much as the notion of a soul.[1] More remarkable still, there is the absence of myths common to the greater portion of the race—of a deluge, of the soul going into the West, of the stately drama of the heavens which is fresh every morning and new every evening,[2] though it is true one

[1] See the discussion of "spiritism" in *Shinto*, pp. 25 *ff*. The remark in the text refers to the earliest period only. The notion of a distinction between soul and body is seen slowly developing in our sources.

[2] Some of the earlier legends have to do with the contrasts of light and darkness, but not with the succession of morning and evening.

is reminded of other mythologies on every page. But as these greater themes of mythology are wanting, so are the greater themes of religious literature, for there is no wrestling with the problem of evil, and no consciousness of sin, and no felt need of redemption. There is as yet no ancestor worship, notwithstanding the assertions of certain writers upon the primitive religion of the Japanese. How indeed could there be any ancestor worship when the family was only in the forming and when family names were unknown? We need not add that there was no priest[1] and only the beginning of priestcraft in a knowledge of the magic arts which control nature, and this again, as the beginning not of religion but of practical science. Manifestly the religion, as all else at the beginning, is primitive and our categories may be interchanged and all be religion or religion be not at all; and yet we may not miss the object of our search, for all which we have reviewed may be placed under our category.

The term "god" meets us everywhere, in almost every name and title. The men are as divine as are the heavenly rulers, and the powers of nature are as

[1] The priesthood in Shinto has never been completely differentiated. The priest is essentially a layman with certain added functions for religious occasions. There is no trace in our sources of the head of the family as priest—a very significant omission. Religious guilds are mentioned in the *Nihong* in the last part of the sixth century, 577 A.D.

human as the men, for, to repeat, here are none of the ordinary distinctions. Thus, too, we may take the term "kami," god, for illustration, as defined by the greatest Japanese writer on Shinto. He writes, it is true, in the nineteenth century, twelve hundred years after the composition of our sources, and is engaged in the impossible task of turning history back upon itself. But with all allowances for an apologetic writer, born a thousand years too late, we may accept his definition as fairly summing up the case. "The word '*kami*' is applied to all the *kami* of heaven and earth who are mentioned in the ancient records, as well as to their spirits which reside in the temples where they are worshipped." In passing we may note that this distinction between the *kami* and their spirits is not found in our sources for the earliest period, save in one doubtful instance, and that it is the outcome of later reflection. In primitive Japan, the distinction, as we have seen, was not found. But to resume the quotation:

"Further, not only human beings, but also birds, beasts, plants and trees, seas and mountains, and all other things whatsoever which possess powers of an extraordinary and eminent character, or deserve to be revered and worshipped and dreaded, are called *kami*. Eminent does not mean solely worthy of honour, good, or distinguished by great deeds, but is applied also to the *kami* who are to be dreaded on account of their evil character or miraculous nature. Among human beings

who are at the same time *kami* are the successive Mikados, who in ancient poetry are called distant gods on account of their being far removed from ordinary men, as well as many other men, some who are revered by the whole empire, and those whose sphere is limited to a single province, department, village, or family. The *kami* of the Divine Age were mostly human beings[1] yet resembled *kami*, and that is why we give that name to the period in which they existed. Besides human beings, the thunder is called 'sounding god.' The dragons, goblins, and the fox are also *kami*, for they are eminently miraculous and dreadful creatures."

While further our author goes on to say that the same title was applied to the wolf, the tiger, to peaches, jewels, rocks, stumps, trees, and leaves of plants.

"It was not a spirit which was meant, but the term was used directly of the particular sea or mountain; of the sea on account of its depth and the difficulty of crossing it, of the mountain because of its loftiness."[2]

How far is "*kami*" from the meaning we ascribe to God, and how little does that which was attributed to Him belong to it! "*Kami*" is simply that which is above us, so that the word may even now be applied

[1] This is an error. See p. 31 below. These human "deities" are not of the age of the rocks, but for the most part of historic times.

[2] *Revival of Pure Shinto*, T. A. S., iii., Appendix, pp. 42–43, see Hepburn's dictionary, *sub voce*.

to the Government and to all superior objects which excite the feelings of awe and reverence. No matter what it is nor why these feelings arise within us, if only man bows before it and regards it as high above him, it is *kami*. A Japanese verse, written long after these primitive times, contains the essence of early religion:

"Not knowing what it is
Grateful tears he weeps."

It is apparent why all in these sources is religious. They record only the marvellous in nature and in man, in fact and in legend, and all call forth the same emotion, and all are connected with the same sacred tie. As in science we look with respect upon man's first questionings, so here with these simple folks we find the beginnings of religion which, by and by, shall rear splendid temples, organise great priesthoods, and search after the infinite and the eternal if, happily, it may be found.

The objects of worship, then, in the beginning, are the marvels of nature, its processes, its powers, its fertility, its ways of reproduction, its awe-inspiring mountains and seas and heavenly bodies and sky, the

[1] Of several temples in modern Japan it is noted that the god worshipped is unknown; *cf.* Acts xvii., 23. The verse is quoted in the Shundai Zatsuwa, T. A. S., xx., pt. i., p. 52.

trees, beasts, birds, great fishes, reptiles, and the reproductive powers of man, all alike mysterious, wonderful, connected with our weal or woe, divine. Much later are added heroes and kings. Thus man worships no ghostly world, but the nature of which he is a part. Of this he speaks and sings, and to it he offers gifts. When he begins to formulate his thought and to commit it to writing, it is still the centre of his religion, consciously and formally. He needs no idol, for his gods are before and with him. Or if some god withdraw his presence, then he may have a memento, like the mirror, which is symbol of the Sun-goddess, and which he worships "as if it were herself."[1] The record of the early gods gives overwhelming testimony to the nature of the worship, for they represent nature, with scarcely a human being among them all, and thus we can sum it up in the statement that all that is wonderful is God, and the divine embraces in its category all that impresses the untrained imagination and excites it to reverence or fear.[2]

[1] N., i., 83. See *Shinto*, under "Shin-tai," pp. 70 *ff*. The mirror was the "god-body," Shin-tai, of the goddess. It was an offering made to her, K., i., xvi., and afterwards taken for a "concrete token" of her presence.

[2] Cf. *Shinto*, p. 36. "An analysis of a list of 'Greater Shrines' prepared in the tenth century yields the following results: Of the gods comprised in it, seventeen are nature deities, one is a sword, which probably represented a nature

But fear is secondary. Man is in sympathy with the divine world, and rejoices in the emotions it calls forth. The gods are not opposed to him, and he finds joy in their presence and seeks it. For the religious emotions are at once desirable and ennobling. Thus civilised man gazes upon the sublime in nature, art, and character, and counts labour and cost not too great that he may stand in its presence, taking infinite pains in music, art, and architecture, that he may arouse these great emotions. So, as Homer says, does primitive man "yearn after the gods," nor does the fact that some gods are terrible change this yearning into its opposite, for, after all, the evil powers are exceptional, and, besides, man longs for the mystery of danger.

Manifestly there are yet no moral distinctions. As gods constitute the wonderful in nature, ethical discernment does not apply to them. Does not nature bring forth tigers and venomous serpents? Do not earthquakes and storms come equally with sunshine and quietness and fertility? Are not good men and bad born into the world, and have we not to deal with

deity; two are more or less legendary deceased Mikados, one is the deified type and supposed ancestor of a priestly corporation, one is the ancestor of an empress, and one a deceased statesman." See the list given under "Nature Deities," chap. viii. "None of the *Dii Majores* of the more ancient Shinto are deified individual men," p. 177. Note that the list is of the tenth century, long after Shinto had become a theory of state.

them all alike? How, then, should it be different with the gods? Even when the incipient social organisation brings with it the knowledge of good and evil, these categories are not applied to the gods, for the "superior," the "marvellous," the "awe-inspiring," are far above our common analogies, and are not subject to our judgments.[1] The thought that God is holy, just, and good, belongs to the far future, and as yet religion exists in its innocence, embracing all alike. Nor need there be wisdom, for gods like Susa-no-o-no-Mikoto may be foolish as well as mischievous, and dragons are deceived by the simplest stratagems.[2] It is not even required that the deities possess intelligence, but they may be seas and hills, and they may be devoid of beauty, for the hideous, too, excites awe. Nor is it essential that they give material aid, for many of the deities are not addressed in prayer at all. It is only at this stage that they so impress man's feelings that he wonders and adores.

He chiefly adores power, for this appeals to all and to its claims all answer, not daring nor seeking to escape. As men even in our age are hero-worshippers, and all, except the tiny minority, accept force as the final tribunal from which there is no appeal, as in the

[1] Nor is the king, though his evil be recorded. In later Shinto, loyalty is independent of the character of the ruler.

[2] K., i., xviii.

presence of the overwhelming forces of nature we are silent, feeling our insignificance, so with primitive man. The superiority which he recognises in his gods is of strength, as legend and myth and worship bear witness. The stupendous deeds of Yamato and of Jimmu; the power of Izanagi and Izanami, who form the liquid brine into the solid earth; the conquests of Jingo, achieved by the miraculous babe she carries, are the tales he loves, and the thunder, mountains, seas, and sun are the objects before which he bows. For man does not worship "mere nature," but a magic nature, filled with power and doing wonders. The veriest fetish is instinct with it, and when it disappears man no longer worships rock, or stick, or tree, or sky, for that which is thus "mere" object is less than man, and in the nature of things he bows only to that which is above him. Hence, the proof of the divinity is its power, and if this fail, as fail it may, the worship is transferred to that which is truly godlike. Is it impossible that this primitive worship so long survived in Japan because the mountains smoked and burst forth with fury, and the earth, stirring with life, quaked and trembled? Or is it without significance that still the objects of the peasants' worship are volcanoes, yet living or extinct only within historic times?[1]

[1] Yet volcanoes and earthquakes have very little part in the myths or rites of Shinto.

We may dwell upon this feeling of sacred reverence because we are sometimes told that religion comes from fear, or at least from the sense of dependence. But, intimately as these are associated with religion, and often as they seem to constitute it, yet they do not form its primary element. Even though man neither feared nor begged, yet would he adore, and perfect religion casts out fear, while heightening adoration and completing love. To the object of his adoration man surrenders himself, sometimes with complete self-sacrifice, and glories in his absorption in its being.

But undeniably closely connected with adoration is dependence, and the two may well combine in the same object. For, as man adores power, so does he turn to power for aid. Nor need the two be separate, for in a single act he may worship and stretch out his hand in supplication. To pray is instinctive in times of peril and of need, for how else should man act when realising his helplessness? Thus we have the beginnings of formal worship in adoration and dependence. When once we have felt the impress of marvellous power, we return for renewed experience, and the place becomes holy ground; and as we have escaped peril, we repeat our prayers when danger comes. We relate, too, our story to our fellows, and would share with them the experience of worship and salvation. Primitive religion

is not solitary, but social, and in our sources there is only a trace of religious retiracy. The community is present, acting, watching, speaking as a whole or in its representatives.

Prayers affect our hearts and the gods by their solemnity. Words are high in the list of wonders and mysterious phrases repeated slowly acquire a sacred power. Nor is it necessary that they be understood, for in their unintelligibility is their wonder. Especially is this true in a language like the Japanese, where brevity is synonymous with discourtesy, and the length of word and phrase increases with the rank of the person addressed. Hence arise rituals, through repetition and remoteness from the customary speech.[1] Even to civilised men, the most common word becomes strange and unmeaning if often repeated, and to the unintelligent the great names of the gods produce the effect of wonder akin to that aroused

[1] Sometimes the most common forms of speech are rendered mysterious by slight disguise and repetition; thus the numerals one to ten were used as the "grand ritual" when the Sun-goddess was enticed from the cave, according to one account. The K. and N. give no hint as to the contents of the ritual. There is almost nothing which can be called a formal prayer in K., merely ejaculations, exclamations, brief requests, and charms. The *Norito—i. e.*, state rituals—are carefully rewritten in fine literary style, and belong in their present form to a much later period.

by the dimness of caverns and the shadows of great hills.

But the real substance of primitive prayers is as simple as their form is mysterious. It is for goods, for happiness, for escape from evil, for deliverance from danger. Primitive man's prayers are like his gods—purely natural. Not yet does he seek wisdom, or purity, or holiness, nor even a happy entrance into bliss beyond the grave. The present, with its dangers and its goods, occupies his thoughts, leaving room for nothing else.

With simple prayers are childlike offerings, the fruits of the field, the spoils of the chase, the leaves of trees, the works of one's hands, pieces of cloth, intoxicating liquors, or, in greater stress of danger, the most cherished possessions, the horse, the sword, the wife. Thus, when the seas threatened Yamato-dake, his wife cast herself into the waves, and there was a great calm. What one offers to his chief he offers to the gods, nor does he question what becomes of his gifts, and they are made even to trees and hills.[1]

So, too, what pleases man pleases the gods. Thus when the great Sun-goddess, Ame-terasu-no-Mikoto, hid herself in a cave and left the world in darkness,

[1] The gods make bargains, *e.g.*, K., i., xxviii., agreeing to help if worshipped. Also K., ii., lxiv., where a god offers to stay a pestilence in return for worship.

Ame-no-uzumi-no-Mikoto danced licentiously before its entrance until the assembled gods roared with laughter, and the jealous goddess looked forth and the world was bright again.[1]

Allied to prayers and gifts and dances are charms, the early attempt at the control of nature—man's first essays in practical science. Mystery is controllable by mystery. Man does not understand why nor how good luck and evil come to him, and he jumps at possible explanations and possible means of protection. Charms the world over have a remarkable similarity. Coincidence, strangeness of appearance, and suggestive association in name or idea produce them. Japan has nothing peculiar or strange to offer, its magic and charms in their analogies proving little of actual contact with other peoples, but much of the unity of man's mind. Jewels make tides ebb and flow and hold the power of life and death[2]; swords work miracles[3]; to proceed face to the sun,[4] or, in a variant, with back to it, brings evil[5]; strange birds are good omens,[6] and curses are efficient causes.[7]

[1] K., i., xvi.
[2] K., i., xl.
[3] K., ii., xlv.
[4] K., ii., xliv.
[5] K., iii., cliii.
[6] N. ii., 174, and many other instances—*e. g.*, pp. 237, 322; also strange animals, 252. N., ii., 236 *ff.*, have an extended account of their significance, based on Chinese ideas.
[7] N., i., 248, K., i., xxxvii.

Sympathetic magic, also, is used[1] in many instances. The mental attitude is illustrated by the story of the younger prince who lost the fish-hook of his elder brother. The latter would not be placated, nor would he accept a multitude of others in its stead. By the help of the Sea-god the hook is recovered, but its efficiency is destroyed by a formula and a charm. Then the Sea-god says: "When your brother uses the hook, say, 'A big hook, an eager hook, a poor hook, a silly hook,' spit three times, and raise the wind—now the wind is raised by whistling."[2]

First of religious rites, and by far the most important, is purification by water. When Izanagi-no-Mikoto returns from his visit to Hades, he exclaims, "Hideous! I have come to a hideous and a polluted land!" and he washes himself with repeated washings, seeking different parts of the stream that he may find pure water, and finally using successively the bottom, the middle, and the surface of the ocean. As he washes, the deities are born from his person, the sun, the moon, and the god which, by the best conjecture, is the rain-storm.[3] Thus, in ordinary life, too, there is purification, the young mother being

[1] Besides the illustration in whistling, there are many instances. Vide *Shinto*, p. 330.

[2] N., i., 106.

[3] K., i., x.

unclean, and obliged to remain apart and invisible,[1] while the dead body so defiles that, after the demise of the ruler, the village is destroyed and a new place found for the living.[2] What is this but the instinctive shrinking from objects which defile, and the consequent consciousness that one is unclean and unworthy of companionship? As the feeling of a mysterious presence calls forth adoration with its acts of praise and worship, so does this consciousness of uncommon and repulsive filthiness cause a shrinking, whence come the ceremonials of purification. In the beginning, it is not moral or spiritual but bodily filth which defiles, and religious holiness is of the flesh and not of the spirit. In more developed nature religions this ceremonial defilement, which is the origin of *tabu*, is carried into great complexities, but in primitive Japan this too is in its beginnings.

The word from the gods, revelation, is also primitive, without trace of a common revelation, neither flood, nor garden of Eden, nor fall of man, nor hell, nor heaven. More remarkable still, there is no expectation of a coming deliverer, nor dream of a golden age of promise. Revelation comes through dreams, which are as real as our waking experiences and even as ma-

[1] A separate hut was built for her.—K., i., xxxviii.

[2] *Shinto*, p. 252. Disease, wounds, and many forms of uncleanliness demanded purification.

terial. For a sword in one instance comes in a dream and remains on earth.[1] So, too, important matters may be decided by dreams, even the succession to the throne,[2] while gods appear to sleepers and reveal information of the most mundane nature. Besides the dreams, there are also other inspirations, especially of girls, who are taken by the divinities as means for their expression; and not only human beings but animals, reptiles, and birds are the medium of divine communications.[3] Besides this, is divination to which the gods themselves appeal for help in their perplexities. Thus when Izanagi and Izanami are disappointed in their offspring, they refer the matter to the supreme heavenly deities who by divination by a deer's shoulder discovered that it was because the goddess spoke first upon meeting with her husband.[4]

These phenomena, world-wide and persistent, which in our modern days are variously explained—second sight, crystal reading, the revelations of our sleeping hours, subconscious activities breaking through into the field of attention, the mysteries of sleep-walking, of complex personality, and of induced hypnotism,—show their presence unmistakably. But neither in

[1] K., ii., xlv.
[2] K., ii., ci.
[3] *Shinto*, p. 348.
[4] K., i., v. See also *Shinto*, p. 337.

Japan nor elsewhere are they the sources or the stay of religion. They readily attach themselves to it and heighten certain of its features. Sometimes indeed they are thrust for the time into prominence, as if they constituted the substance of it, but only for the time or, if they continue, religion becomes superstitious and debased.

The substance of revelation is practical, and the myths are not set forth nor narrated by the gods. The ancient books claim for themselves no supernatural authority, as indeed how could they, since the distinction between supernatural and natural was not yet. The myths are the beginnings of science and of religion: of science, because they are man's first questions as to the origin of things and their causes; of religion, because this is the realm of mystery and of wonder. Hence, the causes are divine, of man, and life, and nature. Farther man cannot go, and he peers into the past as into the mouth of some deep cavern whence issues the vast stream of unexplored existence. Whence does it all come? From the gods; and the gods are the strange, the mysterious, the adorable.

When finally we attempt to reproduce primitive man's religious consciousness as represented in the story of the ancient Japanese, we must appeal to ordinary experience. They are like children sitting in the

dark and relating stories which affright and yet charm, or like one awed by the vastness and solitude of the forest, or like the peasant who stands mouth open in unthinking wonder before a marvel, or like ourselves when, forgetting our science, we give our feelings sway and find ourselves filled with emotions inexpressible in the presence of a cataract or mountain peak. We too uncover our heads, we too hush the careless and irreverent word, we too feel, somehow, we know not how, that this is holy ground. Modern man, sophisticated and critical, distinguishes his emotions when he checks the flow of his feelings, but primitive man, child of nature, worships and adores. And close at hand is need. The sky darkens, the wind rises, the night comes. Strange beasts creep forth from their homes and danger is on every hand. The individual is so weak and so conscious of his weakness, and the possibilities are so incalculable. He lifts his hands and prays. Around his prayers gather memories, coincidences, and acts of devotion. Repetition gives solemnity, and omission causes uneasiness as habit fixes conduct. Primitive religious consciousness, producing particular rites, remains in boys who knock wood, and in adults who are uneasy if they see the moon over the left shoulder, and in farmers who fasten a horseshoe over the stable door. All is dim, mystical, uncritical, but powerful as any element in man's nature.

It is not superstition, nor is it mere custom, nor is it simply the arousing of the æsthetic nature. It is the beginning of religion, adoration and dependence, praise and prayer, faith and rite; "not knowing what it is," but only that in the soul there is a sense of a greater than self which we joy to worship, a more powerful than self on which we must depend.

## LECTURE II.

## Shinto, the Way of the Gods.

### Natural Religion.

THE Japanese remained long in this state of nature, their rude guesses at the causes of things, the magical control of destiny, the confused forms of the family and the tribe continuing. Religion, too, was undeveloped, the only change being from marvel to marvel. This indeed is the ordinary state of human nature. It is content with its possessions and cherishes them, nor will it arouse itself for new and doubtful experiment. It is only the elect few, the divinely inspired genius, the prophet, the seer, who have visions of the future which become true as they are followed, but with them are the hopes of the race and its destiny. It is vain to seek the secret in environment, or in the deductions of science, for it is the extraordinary, the superhuman, the genius, the unique, which shape progress. For Japan the touch of a splendid civilisation, which was already old, aroused the nation and made it a factor in the world's history.

Sometime in the dim past, this side of the Christian era, a tribe made itself master. It came from the south-western part of that which is now Japan, and after years, perhaps generations, of strenuous fighting, it was supreme over the centre of the country. Now for the first time west, south-west, and centre were welded into a kind of unity. Still there was much land to be conquered, still even within the central territory were independent chieftains, and still many disputed the sway of the sovereign. Rude was the fighting, and rude was the sovereignty, without thorough-going organisation or laws, and the conquered land was small and its population sparse; but the beginning was made, and that was the important thing, from which was to come the Empire.[1]

By the beginning of the sixth century A.D., the control of the Emperor—let us save time and call him by the title which was his only much later—was considerable, for he claimed all, property and persons, as his own.

[1] It is this conquest which is symbolised by the Jimmu myth. K., ii., xliv–li, N., i., pp. 109–135. This is a true myth. It has traditions mingled with fragments of folk-lore systematically worked up into a corrected whole with the purpose of giving a divine basis to the Imperial throne. Its foundation is fact, not that there ever was a conqueror named Jimmu, but that the basis of the Imperial power was conquest.

"He had power over life and death of his subjects. He could emancipate slaves and degrade freemen into servitude. He bestowed, changed, and revoked titles of his subjects. He created his royal estates out of the possessions of private citizens, and assumed power to employ people under their separate tribal chiefs. While he was the head of a patriarchal society and his orders passed through the heads of families and quasi-families, yet his authority seemed in theory to penetrate to the child lowest in the patriarchal scale. Nor was this power limited to the Emperor alone, but seemed to extend to other members of his family."[1]

Thus supremacy was through conquest, and this was the fact preserved in the tradition, while against it struggled for centuries the conquered tribes and chieftains. We have here the notion of superiority which explains at once the facts and legends, for the Way of the Gods, Shinto, is the natural religion of the people reorganised and completed as myth—that is, as stories with an object, and this object is the support of the Imperial house and power. Before going into this subject, let us see the elements which made such redaction possible and indeed necessary.

Sometime after this conquest and unification of the tribes, was the introduction of Chinese literature, civilisation, and religion. In the earliest times tribes drifted across the seas and established themselves in different

[1] A., p. 25.

parts of the islands, in Idzuma in the west, in Kyushu in the south, in Yamato in the centre. They fought with the barbarians and with each other, and lost the memory of their immigration and of their contacts with other peoples. Still evidence remained of their foreign origin, as even in the earliest legends one may detect continental influence. Probably there was still occasional communication with the continent, but not yet was there an organisation or a social state capable of perpetuating the impressions. When finally one tribe became supreme and introduced the elements of unity and order, came the opportunity which new-comers from Korea improved, bringing the rudiments of Chinese enlightenment. Whatever may have been the earlier contacts,[1] it is only these later ones which were effective, for only now was there a central government which could welcome the strangers, accept their gifts and profit by them, and give occasion to the native power of assimilation to manifest itself.

But the process was slow. We have dates which are trustworthy from the middle of the sixth century or earlier, but our first document is from the beginning of the eighth.[2] During this long period of two

[1] *Cf.* A., p. 148.

[2] The Ko-ji-ki, A.D. 712. The Ni-hon-gi, A.D. 720. N. quotes voluminously from older documents, but some of these documents are manifestly fabrications.

hundred years the twofold process was going on: the acquaintance with continental culture, and the consolidation of the Empire. The slowness of the latter process was, in part at least, the reason for the slowness of the former. Even in the middle of the seventh century the power of the Emperor was by no means assured, for in the year 645 there was a revolution or a reformation. The Imperial house was threatened by an intrigue which almost succeeded, but, discovered in time, it was foiled by a counter-intrigue and the Empire established.[1] Yet once and again there was rebellion, and only after these were put down did lasting peace come.

Simultaneously with this process of centralisation, and largely influential in it, was the Chinese enlightenment. It accounts in part at least for the form and for the divergence of the Japanese legends. For through it was felt the need at once for the reorganisation of the government and for its justification. Without literature, man is content with things as he finds them. They are their own excuse for being. In the actual conquest the sword and spear are the potent arguments, but upon reflection, and when alternatives are sugggested, the reason becomes active and demands satisfaction.

[1] N., ii., 189 *ff*. *Cf*. A., pp. 109 *ff*. *et passim*.

Naturally the Chinese civilisation so impressed the Japanese that it was eagerly adopted. It was the civilisation of the whole world, of all lands within the range of vision, of a truly immemorial antiquity and of overwhelming completeness and splendour. Worshippers of the "superior," it is not surprising that the Japanese adored and adopted it.

After the revolution of 645, for example, society was remodelled; departments of government, ranks of officers, codes of law—the whole range of institutions, remodelled or for the first instituted.[1] It was a marvellous transformation and to be compared only with the great movement in our day, which has so interested and astonished the nations. But great as were the innovations, and wholesale as were the importations, yet there was from the beginning adaptation. And this we see, both in the theory of the government and in the effect of that theory upon religion, for political theory produced Shinto.

But there were other influences at work. The

[1] N., ii., pp. 195 *ff.* A., pp. 257 *ff.* Beginnings had been made earlier, in the reign of Suiko, A.D. 592–628. Thus N., ii., p. 127, records the institution of "cap-ranks." In 604 A.D. the Prince Imperial issued the first laws, *op. cit.*, p. 128 *et seq.* In the same year court ceremonies were remodelled (p. 133), worship was organised, and the Prince Imperial lectured on Buddhist Sutras, etc.

Chinese civilisation had not only an elaborate theory of government, but a cosmogony, and a philosophy, and a history. It knew how the heavens and the earth were formed out of chaos, though, like all the East, it knew no absolute beginning, and it had its conception of the world as now existing, and in addition a history which, beginning with myth and fable, came down to historic times in unbroken sequence. To all this the Japanese intellect responded, but was not overwhelmed by it, and as the Chinese theories did not fit the insular conditions, nor the native traditions the exigencies of the Imperial house, menaced by many foes, it summoned to its aid the religious emotions and reshaped the legends to suit its needs.[1]

The Chinese power was based theoretically on virtue. It is a remarkable theory, akin to that of the Hebrews, though widely different in form and fashion. At the briefest, we return to it in our fifth lecture, it is this: the principle of Heaven and Earth is virtue.

[1] Professor Asakawa points out with convincing clearness the political conditions which produced Shinto. He sums up the causes of the reform of 645–646 as follows: "The Reform was a supreme effort of the theory of divine succession, which had been almost obliterated, to once more assert itself, by striking down the tribal organism and substituting for it a new state, modelled after a foreign example, and by converting the personal powers claimed and lost by the Emperor into public powers of the new state."—Pp. 135–136.

By it were all things formed, and through it all things have their substance. It is place, relationship to others, the order of a series, which gives meaning, and value, and substance. Order is Heaven's only law, and according to it is the cosmos.[1] Without it is chaos, and all which is evil. It follows that position is more important than personality. A man is for the sake of society, the family, his fellows, the Empire. Hence in the ideal state there is nothing evil, for all is in order. Now in the family the father is the pivot, and in the state the Emperor. He rules not by power, but by virtue, for if he does not fulfil the duties of his office, *ipso facto* he is a usurper. Thus Mencius declared, when asked as to the driving of Ch'ou from his throne: "The offender of benevolence is a robber and the offender of righteousness is a ruffian. A ruffianly robber is a mere fellow. I have heard that Wu killed a fellow, Ch'ou, not that he killed a king." [2]

The theory finds its immortal embodiment in the illustrious Sage Kings Yao and Shun, who held their position, not by conquest or by inheritance, but by the supremacy of their virtue.[3] The officials, too, are graded by their virtues, so that immaculate wisdom

[1] "Order" is not the Chinese word, but it is my interpretation of the meaning of the whole system.

[2] Mencius I., ii., 8, Legge's trans.

[3] *Cf.* Shundai Zatsuwa. T. A. S., xx., pt. i., p. 53.

and righteousness are first, and invincible stupidity last; then even stupidity loses its viciousness, and all are virtuous, though few are wise.[1]

Such was the theory in the books, and of its historic contradictions Japanese students were in ignorance. But such were not the facts in Japan, nor could they be fitted to such a theory. Here, as we have seen, the bare fact was conquest, and the succession was in the family, though the family was still loosely organised and the succession irregular. Such, also, was the tradition, for the stories of the past by no means invested even the greatest of the Emperors with superhuman virtues, though it freely accorded them superhuman powers, nor did the Emperors assume any control over the beliefs or the morals of their subjects, the tradition and the religion being essentially non-moral, the worship and the supremacy of non-moral power.

Had the people been at peace, without factions or disputes, possibly in time the Chinese fiction might have been taken seriously, and the theoretical basis of the state have been found in an ethical philosophy. But the people were not at peace, nor was the basis of the Imperial power, or the position of the lesser chiefs secure. The claimants were many, and their pretensions extreme. It was necessary, therefore, that a

[1] Okina Mondo, ii., p. 31.

basis should be found which should be at once recognised by all, and in terms understood by the nation. Finally, did we need more, when Chinese civilisation came to Japan, it was Buddhism, which had nothing to say of polity, and not the more profound portions of the Confucian system, which engaged the attention of the thoughtful.

The effect upon religion is apparent. Legend and tradition were transformed into myth—that is, they were retold with a purpose, and religion was supplied with a theology. It is a momentous transition, and in it are hidden all the possibilities of the race. Man becomes reflective, and instead of the crude evidence of his senses, he is to place theory; instead of the confusion of chance, he is to place order. He ceases to be naïve, and takes the first step in the development of philosophy, science, and theology. It is inevitable that his first attempts shall take on the form of the last-named discipline.

For with the beginnings of theory man does not invent his facts; he takes them as he finds them. That, too, is inevitable. He is not a liar, nor a builder of romances, but, on the whole, true to his facts as he sees them. Now his facts have to do with the marvellous, the "superior," the divine. It is the marvel of power which impresses him, and which he remembers, and it is the marvel which he worships. So, too,

he asks in his childlike way after the beginnings, and comes at once upon stories of gods and demons. The only thing new is theory, and conscious explanation, and system. So that the inventions are limited to certain places, where facts fail, as even our scientists tell us what must be beyond the range of possible experimentation.[1] But the invention of the early writer is, like his facts, naïve and easily detected. As early as the sixth century recorders were appointed, and in A.D. 620 something in the fashion of annals was prepared,[2] but they were lost or burned, or purposely destroyed.[3] In part, perhaps, they were embodied in later writings. The next attempt was long after the revolution, for in 681 the reigning Emperor, Temmu, commanded that the "Accounts of the Emperors," "together with various matters of antiquity,"[4] be written, but this also was not completed, or is lost, or was unsatisfactory, for, later, the same Emperor commanded a man of extraordinary memory to learn

[1] Yet in our sources the range of conscious invention is wide, *e. g.*, in K. there are no dates, but in N. dates are given with great exactness. The results are astonishing in places. To the same realm of invention must be placed the numerous genealogies, even that of the Imperial house. One would hesitate to put much reliance upon its details before the middle of the sixth century A.D.

[2] N., ii., 148.

[3] N., ii., 193.

[4] N., ii., 350.

the ancient annals, and from his lips, in 711, was taken down the material which, reduced to written form, constitutes the first of all Japanese books, and one of the most important of our sources.[1] Eight years later, its writer, in conjunction with others, prepared a second work, covering in part the same ground, and adding two hundred years of history, from the end of the fifth to the end of the seventh centuries A.D., giving variants of much value, and in part modifying and transforming the early simplicity under the influence of Chinese critical and philosophical theory. Now this man, in his introduction to the *Records of Ancient Matters*, our oldest source, states clearly the principle which led to its production. It is that we may know the "origin of deities and the establishment of men"—that is, an account of the beginnings of the world and of the Empire. He further tells us that the Emperor, who in 681 commanded the preparation of the annals, said: "I hear that the chronicles of emperors, likewise the original words in the possession of the various families, deviate from the exact truth, and are mostly amplified by empty falsehoods. If at the present time these imperfections

[1] K., i., pp. 9–11. When the order to commit to memory was given we do not know. The Emperor who gave it died in A.D. 686, so that at least twenty-five years elapsed between the order and the taking down the contents of his memory. The book was finished in 712.

are not amended, ere many years shall elapse the great basis of the country, the grand foundation of the monarchy, will be destroyed." And further, the compiler tells us that he "made a careful choice." Thus in this so-called "Bible of the Japanese" we have a work written with a definite purpose, the correction of false claims and the establishment of the monarchy, while in a secondary way we are to be given the origin of the universe itself. There is no pretence of a religious motive, nor of setting forth a moral code, but, in accordance with Chinese precedents, Japan, too, shall have a cosmology, a national history, and an account of the fashion in which the Imperial house obtained its power. The Chinese influence in the second book mentioned, written eight years later, has always been recognised, but the book now under consideration has been thought by some to be a simple record of traditions collected without other ends in view. But manifestly this was not the case; it was Chinese philosophy which suggested the notion of an ordered account of the beginnings of heaven and earth, and Chinese history which impelled the collection of the national annals, and Chinese political theory which necessitated a theoretical justification for the government. It is only in the light of this manifest "tendency" that the meaning of the book itself, and of Shinto, can be understood. The preface of the

*Kojiki* is written in Chinese, but the body of the book is in mingled archaic Japanese and Chinese. The *Nihongi*, on the contrary, is wholly in Chinese, but it is not on that account more completely under Chinese influence.

In the *Kojiki* it is true we are not troubled by the direct intrusion of the Chinese philosophy, with its positive and negative elements, its separation of heaven and earth because of the divergent, heavier and lighter, substances in their formation,[1] for we begin at once with the deities.[2] Yet these latter are as evidently late inventions, formed because things must have a beginning, after man has come in contact with thorough-going cosmogonies. Thus first are placed in the Plain of High Heaven, when the Heaven and the Earth began, the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven, next the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity, next the Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity (*Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-Kami*, *Taka-mi-musu-bi-no-Kami*, *Kami-musu-bi-no-Kami*). They were born and died. Then from a thing like unto a reed shoot, when the earth was young and, like unto floating oil, was drifting about medusa-

[1] Thus the N., i., 1. "Of old, Heaven and Earth were not separated, and the In and the Yo [neg. and pos. elements] not yet divided."

[2] Thus the K., i., 1. "The names of the deities that were born in the Plain of High Heaven, when the Heaven and Earth began, were":

like, were born two more heavenly deities, who also died and left neither descendants nor story [1]; and then two more with the same want of history, and finally five couples with the last of whom the myth begins.[2] These deities without father or mother, or length of days, or any achievements, are created from the felt need of a beginning, thus belonging to the realm of invention, as their names also, indicate—Deity Mud-earth Lord and Deity Mud-earth Lady, Germ Integrating Deity, and Life Integrating Deity, Deity Elder Lord of the Great Place, and Deity Elder Lady of the Great Place, Deity Perfect Exterior, and Deity Oh Venerable Lady; and finally, with the opening of the mythology, the Deity Male Who Invites, and the Deity Female Who Invites (Izanagi-no-Kami and Izanami-no-Kami), the last names framed to explain the beginnings of courtship and marriage.[3] But first of the cosmogony, for these two at the command of the heavenly deities stood on the Floating Bridge of Heaven, pushed down the jewelled spear, which had been given them, stirred up the brine beneath till it went curdle-curdle (*koworo-koworo*), and drew the spear up, the brine which dripped from it piling up and forming the island called "Self-Curdling"

[1] K., i., 1. [2] K., i., 2.

[3] Just possibly, as Mr. Aston suggests, they were originally "folk-etymologies," from the name of a place—N., i., p. 6, note 4. See also the alternative genealogy of the gods, *l. c.*, p. 7 note 3.

(*Onogoro*)[1]. Descending, they erect a pillar and a hall, and then begins their courtship. Circling the island, when they meet she exclaims, "O beautiful and amiable youth!" and he responds, "O beautiful and amiable maiden!" This institutes their courtship, and after marriage, which is without ceremony,[2] or negotiations or capture, are born the islands, the plains, the elements, and the forces of nature. Their first child was a failure, and the second, the island of Awa (Foam), also, because Izanami spoke first on their meeting, as is discovered by the heavenly deities by divination, and therefore the courtship is repeated and Izanagi first makes the exclamation, "Ah! What a fair and lovely maiden!" and then after her response the work of the creation prospers. The geography known by the middle of the seventh century is given in detail, the various islands of the archipelago, the great central country of Yamato.[3] After the geography is complete come deities which are objects and forces of nature, Deity Rock Earth Prince, Heavenly Blowing Male, Youth of the Wind Breath the Great Male, the Spring, the Summer, the Autumn, Foam Calm, Foam Waves, Bubble Calm, Bubble Waves, Wind, and Trees, and Mountains, and Moors,

[1] K., i., 3.

[2] Excepting perhaps the circling of the pillar.

[3] The story occupies the early sections of K., i., iii.,–vi. *et seq.*

and Passes, and Food, and Fire.[1] The total number of islands begotten was fourteen, and of other deities thirty-five. The artificial nature of the construction is apparent, not only from this brief enumeration but from the names of the deities, which are in large part taken from the objects, the story and circumstances of the myth being invented to explain its meaning. So far then the nature of the story is clear, a myth to explain the beginnings of marriage, and the birth, in human fashion, of islands, and mountains, and rocks, and trees, and elements,—all ætiological, with perhaps only the Bridge of Heaven, the courtship, and the stories of the marriage of the nature of true legend.

Izanami dies and goes to Hades, whereat Izanagi kills the Fire Prince, whose birth had caused her death, with his sword, and from the blood which drops from his blade are born more deities, Rock-Splitter, and Root-Splitter, and Rock-Possessor, and Swift Gods, and Snapping Gods, eight in all, the origin of each, given

[1] With the birth of Fire Izanami dies.

Mr. Chamberlain translates the names of the gods throughout. In many instances the meaning could not have been present in the mind of those who spoke them. Mr. Aston retains the Japanese names and questions their origin. He thinks them the most distinctively Japanese part of the legends, and he says: "The explanation of the meaning of these names is often very conjectural. Some are probably names of places. Possibly some of the obscurer names are Korean."—N., i., p. 10, note.

with exactness, from the blood which stuck to the point, the upper part, and the hilt of the sword and flying off bespattered the rocks.[1] This tendency to arrange in groups appears repeatedly in the narrative, as, for example, from the body of the slain Fire Prince were born deities of the mountains, eight deities in all. There follows the tale already narrated of the visit to Hades, and the discovery of the decaying body of Izanami, with maggots swarming, and eight thunder-gods born in her body and dwelling there. She sends her messengers after Izanagi who flees, and finally escapes as we have seen, and blocks behind him the Even Pass of Hades. This whole story is full of reminiscences, and shows signs of its contact with other mythologies and legends long since forgotten. From the purification of Izanagi are born many other gods, and among them the Sun, the Moon, and the violent deity, who is given dominion over Hades, but instead remains to trouble heaven and the inhabitants of earth. His wicked doings occupy the larger part of the next sections, and then, at last, begins the history of the earthly rulers. With the stories of Sun, Moon, and Susa-no-o-no-Mikoto, the cosmogony ceases, and there follow the stories of the emperors, and of the leading families, the two divisions being indeed connected in uninterrupted sequence, though diverse in motive and material. Be-

[1] K., i., viii.

tween the two are a series of ancient legends, loosely connected, some of them without bearing upon either cosmogony or succession, and put in here because they were in the traditions and must be disposed of. Then follows the highly supernatural story of the first Emperor Jimmu, who was given the throne by the gods of high heaven, and invested by the Sun-goddess with sword and mirror and spear. With the help of the gods he slowly possesses the land, starting from the south-west, Kyushu, receiving the submission of Idzumo, and finally settling himself in Yamato, which should be henceforth the centre of the story, but in fact occupies a subordinate place. From this time on, the narrative follows the succession, with many fables and a suggestion or two of history. For the most part nothing is known of the rulers but their names and places, and when the dull genealogies are made interesting with stories it is still of gods, and marvels, and heroes, the history as mythological as the cosmogony, and the mythology as trustworthy as the history. Genealogies of the emperors and of the great families continue, until at last, say in the middle of the fifth century, we come to the appointment of recorders and the beginnings of sober history.[1]

[1] Marvels are still mingled with it. As late as A.D. 661, 8th mo., 1st day, a demon with a big hat appeared, to the astonishment of the people.—N., ii., 272.

This political motive, the theoretical establishment of the Imperial regime, saved Shinto from extinction. Otherwise it would have disappeared in Buddhism, and its *kami* would have lost their identity as they came to be regarded as incarnations of Buddha. But the theory was too valuable to be put aside. The Emperor ruled by divine right, not only by divine decree issued when the supreme Sun-goddess cried "Who shall rule for us the land below?" but also by descent, the divine blood flowing through his veins, and thus by an identity of nature since he too is a god. He held too the sword and the mirror—the insignia of his divine investiture.[1]

With this process went hand in hand his isolation. Time had been when he had mingled with the people and had shared their fortunes, but now he was surrounded with mysterious splendour, and removed, as befitted a god, from his people. With this transformation too the control of affairs more and more slipped from his hands into the grasp of men who had to do with the realities of empire and people, divinity and exaltation being separated from power and rule.[2]

[1] K., i., xxxiii. Thus the Sun-goddess instituted the dynasty: "Do thou, my August Grandchild, proceed thither and govern it. Go! and may prosperity attend thy dynasty, and may it, like heaven and earth, endure forever."—N., i., 77.

[2] In the edicts in the latter part of N., the ruling Emperor is named as "God Incarnate."—N., ii., 359.

Shinto entered its second stage. Among the people it was supplanted by Buddhism, which in its rites, temples, and images offered things concrete and tangible so that the native cult remained as court ceremonial and ritual, demanding neither understanding nor faith. Even the emperors were the adherents of Buddhism, and some of them abdicated their imperial rank and divine dignity and entered monasteries as seekers of salvation.

Shinto had secondary objects, among others the settlement of disputes between great families, and the organisation of a quasi hierarchy. Families claiming descent from the gods were in charge of sacred places, and a few temples were built. But the duties were nominal, and the religious influence nothing. The theology even now was meagre; possibly its whole content can be summed up in the phrase, "Fear the gods and obey the Emperor," and the notion that the land, its people, and especially the ruler, are divine.

No attempt was made to instruct the people in the legends or in the ritual. The priests were laymen, with an hereditary interest in the shrine, while Buddhism supplied theology and Confucianism ethics.

As was natural, the complete form of Shinto is given in the prayers, *Norito*, used at court. In them the Emperor appears as the high-priest of the people. As the Emperor of China twice a year worshipped

Heaven and Earth, so did the Emperor of Japan intervene between the gods and his people. The prayers are wholly from the Imperial point of view, and are compared, by a recent writer, in their form to Imperial rescripts.[1] All things are regarded as the property of the Emperor, the land, the people, and their possessions. For their sakes he implores the deities of Heaven and Earth, the hills, the plains, and the elements, that evil may be averted and good restored. For the people he makes offerings, feasts and clothes and horses. Himself not present, he designates his representatives, who stand in his place and minister in his stead. With the gods of nature are combined the Imperial ancestors, and, under the influence of China, the conception of their spirits, gone yet present, dependent on the living yet effective for weal or woe, comes to take a prominent part. For the story of the *Kojiki* is the marriage of the worship of nature to that of the worship of the Imperial house. The Emperor is called "Incarnate God," yet in like fashion Korean princes are recognised as "Sons of God."[2] In the *Kojiki* there is no hint of prayer to the ancestors of the Emperors, nor of their worship. In the *Nihongi*

[1] A., p. 38, "the *Norito* are precisely similar in form to the old Imperial rescripts issued concerning mundane affairs, . . . their contents are distinctly political and . . . everything is uttered from the Emperor's point of view."

[2] N., ii., p. 198.

both appear, but only at a late date. The worship of ancestors, then, even of the Imperial family, is not of the original religion of Japan, which is nature worship. It is through the Chinese influence that Shinto is formed and the worship of the spirits of the dead introduced. But this remains strictly subordinate, the ruling idea being the divinity of Japan and of the Emperor, its representative.

Shinto, serving its purpose as a form of court ceremonial and as a theory of the "divine right" of the Emperor,[1] remained, besides, only as a part of the religion of the Buddhas,[2] as superstitions among the common people, and as fairy tales told to children. There were not wanting, also, scholars enamoured of antiquity, who explained the legends according to more modern systems of thought.

The *Nihongi* itself is the first illustration of this tendency. The philosophy of the Chinese was accepted, and its principles appended to the national cosmology. Thus its beginning is, "Anciently, be-

[1] Yet, as noted above, p. 64, the "divine right" had little to do with the practical control of affairs. Through the larger part of the history the Emperor was powerless. The common people did not even worship him, and the men in control deposed, debauched, controlled, or ignored him as suited their purposes.

[2] In the ninth century the Shinto gods were declared to be incarnations of Buddha, and a composite religion, *Riobu Shinto*, was formed. But while the name was Shinto the substance was Buddhism.

fore Heaven and Earth separated and the Negative and Positive Essences parted," while Heaven is credited with directing affairs, and Chinese speeches are put into the mouth of the early Japanese sovereigns. This combination of theology and science was only the precursor of others, which harmonised Shinto with the teachings of the *Shin-gon* Buddhists, or with the mysteries of the *Book of Changes*, or with the philosophy of Chu Hi. But none of these systems had wide influence, though the *Nihongi*, with its Chinese language and concessions to Chinese philosophy, remained the chief authority, supplanting the *Kojiki* in scholarly esteem.

With the revival of learning under the House of Tokugawa, there came a new interest in ancient affairs. A school arose which attempted to free Shinto from its accretions and to restore it to its ancient purity. It flourished in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and its writings illustrate the development and adaptation of religious systems. Nor were they without effect upon the national development.

These writers violently reject the adaptation of the tradition to foreign systems, and they have little difficulty in showing the hollowness of the *Nihongi's* adoption of Chinese phrases. These are " philosophic terms utterly unknown to the ancient Japanese, and

are the inventions of ignorant men who, instead of accepting with faith the true traditions which have been handed from the beginning of time, endeavour to discover explanations for what man with his limited intelligence can never comprehend."[1] The criticism is entirely justified, for the *Nihongi* was a crude attempt to accomplish the most difficult of intellectual tasks, the restatement of traditions in the terms of an alien philosophy. "Pure Shinto," however, was only at the beginning of its labours when the Chinese accretions had been removed, for the ancient stories, left without philosophical explanation, are difficult of understanding and belief, as the defenders of the Chinese philosophy were quick to point out. Thus the traditions pretend to tell the story of the immense periods which preceded the introduction of writing, giving dates which were invented probably for political ends. The contents, too, are as improbable as the story of their handing down is impossible. For the sun in heaven is a goddess, while yet before her birth it is apparent that there were light, and plants, and houses, and fields, and all the varied forms of life. Yet, if she were really the sun, all must have been in total darkness. Nor did the word "kami" mean god at all, but it

[1] Motowori, quoted by Satow, p. 19. See in general for what follows, *The Revival of Pure Shinto.* T. A. S., iii., Supplement.

was simply a term of honour, and many other arguments of equal cogency were urged. How, then, shall these traditions be given forth as the actual truth of the origin of heaven and earth?

The answer is as convincing as could be expected:

> Tradition is better than written records, as we use even now the spoken word in matters of especial delicacy, and men's memories were better in ancient times, when they had not learned to rely upon writing. Further, these difficulties in the contents are upon the surface and "would strike even a child's intelligence. The critic need not make so much fuss about the point, as if it were entirely a discovery of his own. The very inconsistency is proof of the authority of the record, for who would have gone out of his way to invent a story so apparently ridiculous and incredible?"[1]

Thus the difficulties of the narrative become its strength, and in all points the apologist is able to turn the argument against his assailant. Is it pointed out that the Japanese are not of great antiquity, and therefore not the special children of the gods, it is argued that the child of slow and late development is often the flower of the family, most cherished and most intelligent. Is it shown that the early records have no ethical teaching, the statement is accepted, and it is urged that only people like the Chinese, who are naturally depraved, need ethics, whereas the divine

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

Japanese without teaching followed their naturally good instincts, and that only on the introduction of Chinese morals did evil develop. Finally, to complete the account of Shinto apologetics, when the great struggle between tradition and science emerges, the argument rises to its heights:

"Many miracles occurred in the age of the gods, the truth of which was not disputed until men were taught by the Chinese philosophy to analyse the acts of the gods by the aid of their feeble intelligence. The reason assigned for disbelieving in miracles is that they cannot be explained, but in fact, although the age of the gods has passed away, wondrous miracles surround us on all sides. For example, there is the position of the earth itself, equally miraculous whether we describe the globe as resting on something or nothing, and beyond all possibility of explanation are the common facts of existence, seeing, hearing, walking, the flight of birds and insects, the blossoming of plants and trees, the power of rats and weasels to see in the dark. How absurd to take them for granted, and at the same time disbelieve in the miracles of the Divine Age. . . . The accounts given in other countries, whether by Buddhism or Chinese philosophy, of the form of the heavens and earth and the manner in which they came into existence, are all of them inventions of men, who exercised all their ingenuity over the problem, and inferred that such things must actually be the case. As for the Indian account, it is only nonsense fit to deceive women and children, and I do not think it worthy of refutation. The Chinese theories, on the other hand, are based on

profound philosophical speculations, and sound extremely plausible, but what they call the absolute and infinite, the positive and negative essences, the eight diagrams, and the five elements are not real existences, but are fictitious names invented by the philosophers and freely applied in every direction. They say that the whole universe was produced by agencies, and that nothing exists which is independent of them. But all these statements are nonsense.

"The principles which animate the universe are beyond the power of analysis, nor can they be fathomed by the human intelligence, and all statements founded upon pretended explanations of them are to be rejected. All that man can think out and know is limited by the powers of sight, feeling, and calculation, and what goes beyond these powers cannot be known by any amount of thinking.

"How is it then possible for men who were born hundreds and thousands of myriads of years after the origin of the universe, to know how it originated and the successive steps by which it assumed its present form? Our country, owing to the facts that it was begotten by the two gods Izanagi and Izanami, was the birthplace of Amaterasu-oho-mi-kami, and is ruled by her Sublime Descendants for ever and ever, as long as the universe shall endure, is infinitely superior to other countries, whose chief and head it is; its people are honest and upright of heart, and are not given to useless theorising and falsehoods like other nations, and thus it possesses correct and true information with regard to the origin of the universe. This information has descended to us unaltered from the age of the gods, and unmixed, even in the slightest degree, with unsupported notions of

individuals. This indeed is the genuine and true tradition. The Chinese accounts sound as if based on profound principles, and one fancies that they must be right, while the Japanese accounts sound shallow and utterly unfounded in reason. But the former are lies, while the latter are the truth, so that, as time goes on and thought attains greater accuracy, the erroneous nature of these falsehoods becomes ever more apparent, while the true tradition remains intact. My reason for this observation is that in modern times men from countries lying far off in the west have voyaged all round the seas as their inclination prompted them, and have ascertained the actual shape of the earth. They have discovered that the earth is round, and that the sun and moon revolve round it in a vertical direction, and it may thus be conjectured how full of errors are all the ancient Chinese accounts, and how impossible it is to believe anything that professes to be determined *a priori*. But when we come to compare our ancient traditions, as to the origination of a thing in the midst of space and its subsequent development, with what has been ascertained to be the actual shape of the earth, we find that there is not the slightest error, and this result confirms the truth of our ancient traditions. But although accurate discoveries made by the men of the Far West as to the actual shape of the earth and its position in space infinitely surpass the theories of the Chinese, still that is only a matter of calculation, and there are many other things actually known to exist which cannot be solved by that means ; and still less is it possible to solve the question of how the earth, sun, and moon came to assume their form. Probably those countries possess theories of their own, but whatever they may be, they

can be but guesses after the event, and probably resemble the Indian and Chinese theories." [1]

The positive teaching of the new school can be more briefly summarised. It would merit the praise bestowed by Plato on the Athenians for its unreserved hatred of the barbarian nature. Japan is the country of the gods and its people their direct descendants. Thus they differ not in degree but in kind from others. By divine right the Emperor should reign over all the earth, and the fleets of the foreigners should bring him tribute. Nor does his rule depend upon his own virtue or wisdom, but solely upon his divine descent. Hence no misconduct on his part can absolve his people from obedience, as he is not responsible to them nor obliged to render a reason for anything he does. As the son of the Sun-goddess his mind is in perfect harmony of thought and feeling with hers. He does not seek out new inventions, but rules in accordance with precedents which date from the age of the gods, and if he is ever in doubt he has resort to divination, which reveals to him the mind of the great goddess. "In this way the age of the gods and the present age are not two ages but one."

As thus the Emperor rules over men, so do the gods over all. "Every event in the universe is the act of

[1] From a work of Hirata Atsutane, published in 1813. Satow's trans., *op. cit.*, pp. 51–53.

the gods. They direct the changes of the seasons, the wind, the rain, the good and bad fortune of states and of individual men. Some of the gods are good and others are bad, and their acts partake of their own natures."

As the Emperor "worshipped the gods of heaven and earth, so his people prayed to the good gods in order to obtain blessings, and performed rites in honour of the bad gods, in order to avert their displeasure. If they committed crimes or defiled themselves, they employed the usual methods of purification taught them by their own hearts. As there are bad as well as good gods, it is necessary to propitiate them with offerings of agreeable food, playing the harp, blowing the flute, singing and dancing, and whatever else is likely to put them in a good humour. . . . The most fearful crimes which a man commits go unpunished by society so long as they are undiscovered, but they draw down on him the hatred of the invisible gods. The attainment of happiness by performing good acts is regulated by the same law. Even if the gods do not punish secret sins by the usual penalties of the law, such as strangulation, decapitation, and transfixion on the cross, they inflict diseases, misfortunes, short life, and extermination of the race. Sometimes they even cause a clue to be given by which a secret crime is made known to the authorities who have power to punish. The gods bestow happiness and blessings on those who practise good, as effectually as if they were to manifest themselves to our sight and give treasures, and even if the good do not obtain material rewards, they enjoy exemption from disease, good luck, and long life and prosperity is granted to their descendants. Never mind the praise

or blame of fellow-men, but act so that you need not be ashamed before the gods of the Unseen. If you desire to practise true virtue, learn to stand in awe of the Unseen, and that will prevent you from doing wrong. Make a vow to the god who rules over the Unseen, and cultivate the conscience (*ma-go-koro*) implanted in you, and then you will never wander from the way. You cannot hope to live more than a hundred years under the most favourable circumstances, but as you will go to the Unseen Realm of Oho-kuni-nushi after death, and be subject to his rule, learn betimes to bow down before him."[1]

With this developed theology, as unlike the traditions of the *Kojiki* as its cosmology is unlike the modern view of the world, with which these writers would feign reconcile it, are directions for daily prayers and rites, for the religion is to be no longer exclusively for the priests or for the court but for all.

This systematising of Shinto never attained influence. It remained the possession of a little group of scholars interested in antiquity. But in a different way it none the less accomplished much, for it called attention to the Emperor, and possibly aided in his restoration to control in the reformation of 1867–68.[2]

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 21–25.

[2] In my judgment too much credit has been given to this little group of literary men. It has yet to be shown that any of the leaders of the "Three Clans" were influenced by them. The causes of the reformation of 1867–68 are clear and sufficient without this. Enthusiasm for the Emperor succeeded—it did not precede—the event.

With the overthrow of the Shogunate, Buddhism was disestablished and Shinto put in the place of honour. But as a system its day was long past and it could not maintain itself. Its importance in the government rapidly diminished, and in 1877 its position was that of a subordinate bureau, and finally a decree was issued declaring it to be merely a convenient scheme of governmental ceremonies, thus putting it once more back into its old place.

Yet Shinto is more than a code of ceremonies, for in a true sense it embodies the religion of the people. Its stories of the gods are little more than fairy tales; the laborious works of the great scholars who attempted to maintain its inerrant truthfulness, their exegesis, apologetics, and reconciliations, merely encumber the shelves of antiquarian scholars; but, none the less, perhaps all the more, Shinto holds large place in the people's hearts. Its professed upholders and expounders, as so often happens, fastened upon its accidents and exalted its foolishness. In their zeal for the letter they obscured the spirit, since to make Shinto texts the basis for a modern theory of life is impossible. The legends, cosmology, and pseudo-history are not the religion, and its power is not in dogmas nor in forms of worship; it is a spirit, the spirit of Old Japan, *Yamato-damashii.*[1]

[1] This phrase has come to represent the faith and self-confidence of the people. *Yamato* is the ancient Japanese name for the empire, and *damashii* means spirit or genius.

The essential fact in Shinto is the religious patriotism of the people. To them Japan is a divine land, and their devotion expresses itself in loyalty to the Emperor. With this loyalty combines a faith in the continued existence of the heroes of the past, and their inspiration of the nation in its toils and aspirations. The Emperor is not a god, in our modern sense, nor is the land an abode of supernatural beings, but, true to the ancient meaning, "divine" signifies superior, worshipful, that to which one bows in adoration and gives himself in consecrated service. The belief in the continued power and inspiration of the spirits of the past, though taken over from the Chinese, has become essential, yet rests on no argument and is embodied in no dogma. It has no clear vision of a heaven or hell, or of any state of rewards and punishments. In emotional content it can scarcely be distinguished from our Western reverence for the saintly and heroic dead, while its influence on the living is akin to the patriotic feelings excited by our recognition of a precious inheritance in the patriots of ages past. Thus Shinto is witness to an abiding reality. Though its forms perish, its substance remains beyond the reach of hostile criticism and argument. If its doctrine be vague, and its emotions with difficulty described, this is because it belongs to those powerful feelings which are only partly differentiated,

and in this it remains true representative of primitive religion, of the simple feelings which persist, their interpretation being restated with man's progress in knowledge. Shinto will survive—not in its dates, nor its genealogies, nor its theory of the descent of its sovereign from Ame-terasu-no-Mikoto, nor in its legends and cosmology, but in the affections of the people, their trust in the national powers and destiny, and their confidence that there is a something more than their present strength and wisdom which directs and aids and on which they may rely. The "something more" may receive new names, but the faith will abide while Japan works out a future greater and more glorious than the fabled Age of the Gods.

## LECTURE III.

## Buddhism, the Worship of the Absolute.

### Supernatural Religion.

NO contrast in religion is greater than this, *Shinto*, the Way of the Gods, and *Butsudo*, the Way of the Buddhas. In Shinto all is simplicity: the shrine (*mya*) is the ancient hut slightly modified without elaboration or ornamentation; with the *torii*, or bird perch, before it,[1] it contains no idol or symbol except a mirror, and, in the great historic temples, the stored insignia; the priests are plain citizens who are versed in the ritual; the prayers are involved in form but simple in substance, and the divinities are the familiar objects of every-day contemplation—mountains, and sea, and sun, and rock, and tree. Around these gather the sacred memories of the dead, and connected with them are the traditions of the past. The worshipper is conscious of adoration, reverence, wonder, dependence, but he is unable to tell the inquirer how or why. There is neither creed nor dogma nor required cere-

[1] The meaning of *torii* is still a topic of learned discussion.

monial, but a dim conviction and a vague emotion which make life the better worth living.[1]

But when from the *mya* we pass to the *tera*,[2] how great the contrast! Instead of the simple *torii* are towering gateways, elaborate, ornate, with immense guardian statues, and within are a large and complicated structure and elaborate worship: gongs, bells, incense, revolving libraries, pagodas, sacred wells, drum towers, images, pictures, carvings, litanies, and companies of tonsured monks. There are monasteries, nunneries, schools for priests, assembly rooms for congregations, holy days and seasons; magnificently illuminated copies of sacred books with everything for the satisfaction of the intelligence, the emotions, and the will.

Shinto has, properly speaking, no sacred book, but the Buddhist canon numbers hundreds of volumes and its perusal is a task beyond the powers of any but the most exceptional students. It has many great sects, some of them mutually hostile, with a large number of minute divisions and subdivisions, as if nothing were too petty for the foundation of a distinct order. Hence it has a minute and intricate theology, with apologetics, dogmatics, exegesis, polemics, and traditions. It thus is in contrast to Shinto on its intellectual as on its

[1] *Vide* Brinkley's Japan v., pp. 180-181 for an excellent description of worship in the Imperial palace.

[2] From Shinto shrine to Buddhist temple.

material side; the ethics of Shinto are at most "Fear the gods and obey the Emperor," but Buddhism has an ethics which embraces all orders of sentient beings throughout the universe. Shinto is bounded by Japan in time and space, but Buddhism embraces the universe and stretches its claims throughout unnumbered *kalpas*[1] from eternity to eternity. Shinto has to do with the world we see and hear and touch, but Buddhism conceives this all as a "fleeting show, for man's delusion given," and seeks salvation in a world behind the world.

In Japan the two are in juxtaposition. We may pass at once from *mya* to *tera*, and in like fashion the nation itself went from primitive Shinto to the Buddhist faith. For we do not study in this change a slow evolution by means of "resident forces," but a conversion—not growth, but regeneration,—for thus may man's nature respond to external influences and more be accomplished in a generation than otherwise in centuries. The seventh century A.D. was more important to Japan than all the time which had preceded it. We have referred already to the effect of the introduction of Chinese civilisation upon the minds of the leaders of the people. According to the *Nihongi*, after earlier ineffectual attempts, in the year 552 priests and images

[1] For the immense length of a *kalpa*, see Hardy's *A Manual of Buddhism*, p. 7.

came to Yamato and were given a welcome and a habitation, the prime-minister becoming patron of the foreign cult. But shortly after, a pestilence breaking out, it was attributed to the wrath of the native gods, so that the temple was destroyed, the books disappeared, and the statue was cast into the sea.[1] But the image was recovered miraculously, and shortly after the Emperor's palace was destroyed by fire from heaven, the two chief opponents of Buddhism perishing in the flames. Therefore the Emperor commanded the rebuilding of the temple, and a further mission of Korean priests took the place of those who had been driven away. These were followed by others in increased numbers, and the favour was won not only of the prime-minister but of the court, and finally of the Emperor himself. Anti-foreign and anti-Buddhistic feeling was aroused and a rebellion resulted, but it was put down, and in the year 621 Buddhism became the established religion. Bishops and archbishops were appointed, the country was divided into dioceses, temples were erected in all important places, and students crossed the sea to Korea, and more especially to China to study the religion in its sources.[2] Thenceforth there was still conflict, but Shinto grew steadily weaker and Buddhism stronger, for Shinto could not

[1] See N., ii., p. 65 *et seq.*, for the story.
[2] T. A. S., xxii., p. 361 *et seq.*

maintain itself against the doctrines, rites, and complete organisation of its rival. Shinto could only invoke the wrath of the native gods and the love of the people for their divinities. The attribute of deity was power, and it was manifest in the pestilence which broke out when the first temple was erected; but the argument could be turned the other way, and the Buddhists were quick to seize the opportunity, for who could say that the pestilence did not come because of the anger of the Buddhas at the coolness of their reception? The Shinto priests were not fairly matched with the newcomers, neither in dialectics nor in miracles. Thus did the fire fall from heaven to reinforce the argument, and thus later at a crucial moment was a solemn voice from the most holy Shinto temple in Ise heard commanding a hesitating Emperor to build a great statue of Buddha. Dreams and portents added effect to the arguments, and finally the love of the people for their deities was utilised when the ingenious and miracle-working priest, Kobo-Daishi, declared that the native gods were incarnations of Buddha.[1] Besides, the Buddhist monks were deeply in earnest and devoted to evangelistic labours, and how could simple-hearted laymen like the Shinto priests compete with them?

[1] *Shinto*, p. 360. *Religions of Japan*, chap. vii. The Buddhist priests maintained their reputation as wonder-workers until modern times.

But our sources give us the interpretation of the men themselves who were concerned in the conversion. The nation, we are told, turned to Buddhism because these new gods were powerful, and because Buddhism was the cult of the entire world![1] The truth could not be summed up more succinctly or more accurately. As we have seen, the Buddhas surpassed the *kami* in power, but overwhelming was the other argument—the religion of the entire civilised world—*securus judicat orbis terrarum!*—Korea, illimitable China, and in a dim and fabled background India! Imagination could not mirror the reality nor reason compass it. The world had been portions of the Empire of Japan, and history the incoherent traditions of the past, while life was narrow in range and interests and poor in equipment. But now a curtain was lifted suddenly, and there were revealed a new heaven and a new earth. Old things passed away, and the leaders of the people turned eagerly to the treasures of the continental enlightenment—science, philosophy, art, architecture, medicine, law, literature, poetry, etiquette, highly organised society and government, to set down at random a few of the elements which impressed the Japanese. And they were essentially worshippers of the marvellous, and hence responded with avidity to these wonders. They reformed their government,

[1] N., ii., p. 66.

instituted a system of education, changed their social organisation, turned with eagerness to art, and, not to be tedious, revolutionised their entire life. Thus, in the seventh century, was enacted the same drama which, in the nineteenth, has held the attention of the world. He who, familiar with the transformation of Japan in our own day, comes to the study of the transformation of Japan in the seventh century has a sensation akin to that produced by looking at a familiar scene through a telescope reversed. In both the student has rare material for the investigation of the methods of man's progress and of the causes which contribute to the rapid development of a great civilisation.[1] As the Japanese came into contact with Chinese civilisation, so did the American Indian come into contact with the European, but in one case there was no response, and as result only a degeneration to a more hopeless condition; but in the other there were response and imitation, with a sudden revelation of latent powers, adoption and then adaptation. The acceptance of Chinese civilisation wholesale did not check the natural talents of the Japanese; it aroused, guided, developed, and perfected them. Had the Japanese remained unmoved, their fate would have

[1] Dr. Asakawa thinks the development in the seventh century was more rapid even than in the nineteenth; p. 324, n. 3.

been that of the Indian and of the Ainu; but now began their history.

Religion was an integral part of the structure of Chinese civilisation. Buddhism was the religion of the state, and the faith of educated men. It was in alliance with Confucianism, and its break with that system was still five hundred years in the future, so that these were the "ages of faith." Not only was Buddhism the religion of the world, but it was the faith of enlightened men and the instrument of culture. Its priests introduced civilisation, taught agriculture, built roads, constructed temples, and were the teachers of medicine, philosophy, jurisprudence, and art. Part and parcel with the civilisation, it was not yet separated from the new enlightenment, for criticism follows and does not precede faith. Moreover the same motives which led to the adoption of the continental civilisation led to religious belief, for these two were not two but one, since religion the world over is an integral part of man's development.

Suddenly before the eyes of the people were unfolded new, strange, and wonderful forms of worship: imposing structures, images of artistic merit, priests in picturesque garments, a ceremonial impressive and varied, and the novelty of a missionary enterprise teaching that this is the way of salvation. Soon behind the outward pomp was placed the power of the

Government ready to punish opposition,[1] and more, to give all its prestige to the faith. The emotions which belonged to Shinto were thus heightened and broadened. No demand was made for a change in the emotions, but their object was transformed. No longer did reverence and dependence attach themselves chiefly to nature, for the artistic production of man took its place. Shinto was not deserted, but it was turned to account, for when the native gods were declared to be the incarnations of Buddha, the Indian system became the authorised interpreter of the old. Before, there had been no theology, but now it was understood that the mystery had been revealed, and that the world behind the world, the nature above nature, which previously had been dimly felt after, had its official teachers and expounders. In this then there was essentially not a call to repentance, nor a demand for a new heart, but the proclamation of a new knowledge. "What ye in ignorance worship that declare we unto you."

The effect was immediate. Near Nara we may still visit Horuiji and see a temple which dates from the seventh century, and the great *Dai-Butsu* at Nara is from the eighth, and besides enough other specimens of ancient religious art remain to show how rapid was

[1] Thus are conditions stronger than doctrine. The boast that in the name of Buddha there has never been shed a drop of blood is contradicted throughout the history of Japan.

the acquisition, and how proficient were the adapters of the new faith.[1] Even in the pages of the *Nihongi* there is repeated testimony to the strength of Buddhism, for temples had already been built in all considerable towns, and lands had been lavishly set apart for their maintenance.[2] It was a nation born in a day, for with nations a hundred years are but as yesterday when it is passed.

Impressive as was the appeal to the senses, no less strong was the appeal to the mind. For generations something of Chinese literature had been known to the select few, but only in the seventh century were there lasting results. After the reformation of 645, a university with faculties of medicine, astrology, and literature was established, and the men of the higher classes had "their hearts set on learning." Their teachers were Buddhist monks, as the learning of the whole world conformed to their system. Schools were attached to the temples, and a certain degree of learning was put within the reach of wide circles. Far

[1] Cf. *Ideals of the East*, pp. 100–105, 118–127.

[2] For example, in A.D. 686, 7th month, 28th day, seventy persons "of pure conduct" retired from the world. Princes and ministers made images for the Emperor, and Buddhist scriptures were read in the palace. Eighth month, 1st day, eighty priests were made "for the sake of the Emperor." Second day, "priests and nuns to the number of 100 in all entered religions; 100 images were set up; 200 volumes of Buddhist scriptures were read. Fifteenth day, fiefs of 100 houses were given to temples; on the 23d, 200 houses to another temple.

later than this period scholarship was the badge of the priesthood, and in the seventeenth century it was thought to be essentially effeminate and incompatible with the calling of a soldier.[1]

Literature received a religious colouring, science was controlled by theology, and philosophy was nothing other than the "Way of the Buddhas." And what a world of wonder was thus opened to the mind, for Buddhism when it came to Japan was by no means the simple system unfolded by modern scholars in their efforts to get back to the original sources. They represent Buddha as turning from philosophic contemplation and ascetic self-torture to the ordinary duties of charity, kindliness, and uprightness. He renounced the search for the Absolute, and taught that salvation is not in absorption in the being of God, nor in transcendental heaven beyond the grave, but is in the victory over passions and the self. He renounced dependence upon God, angels, ceremonies, and forbade to place faith in any saviour, divine or human, but taught that we are to have reliance in ourselves, and that without prayers or sacrifices or the paraphernalia of worship we are to associate ourselves with others like-minded, that together we may follow the noble

[1] Thus in the *Okina Mondo* the question is argued at length and learning is urged upon the Samurai as not the exclusive prerogative of the "reading priests."

eightfold path which is based on the four great truths, and thus attain the end of our labours—salvation.

This simple teaching did not long satisfy the intellect of India nor the needs of the people. All that had been exorcised came back again, demons and gods and miracles, the soul, the Absolute, and salvation by metaphysics and ascetics. The message of the historic Buddha was held to be only the beginning of his teaching, and a philosophic creed was set forth as the true wisdom which could make men wise unto salvation. Nor was it considered that the two doctrines do not differ as less and greater, but are in thorough-going contradiction, the salvation sought by Buddha being the reverse of that proclaimed by his followers.

The system which came to Japan was the Greater Vehicle,[1] the developed and magnified Buddhism of Korea and China. The Little Vehicle, too, was recognised, but only as a temporary device for the weak-minded and faint-hearted who could not endure sound doctrine. This, however, was not all, for the religion had changed in outward form as in inner meaning. In its long journey of more than a thousand years from India to Japan, it had gathered to itself strange deities as it had invented strange Buddhas. It adorned its

[1] The title *Mahâyâna* is used only by this school; Little Vehicle, *Hinâyâna*, being its term of reproach for the simpler system.

temples with their images, and they became the gods of the common people: Kwannon,[1] the Goddess of Mercy, whose benignant statue is found in countless temples, and whose delineation became the favourite task of artists; Binzuru,[2] God of Medicine, whose virtue is transferred by the hand of mothers from his wooden eyes and ears to the eyes and ears of their offspring; Ema, God of the Dead, and many others. Before these images the simple-hearted peasants stand, make their offerings of a tiny fraction of a cent, clap their hands, repeat a prayer in an unknown tongue, and depart, confident that some blessing for the life which now is has been gained, for the religion of the great Indian protestant against salvation by faith has turned back to the worship which he rejected. This worship is indistinguishable from Shinto, for in *tera* as in *mya* is shown the same reverence for the wonderful, the same reliance upon powers superior and invisible, and the same longing for protection against the evils of the present world, and the same desire for its goods. There is the same want of dogma, with the same unthinking obedience to custom. With the peasantry, with rare exceptions, Buddhist temple and Shinto shrine are alike, and if a Christian church be entered

[1] See Beal's *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, pp. 383 *ff.* for a description of Kwannon.

[2] Murray's *Handbook Japan*, 1st ed., p. 32, for the popular deities.

casually there are the same motions of reverence, the same muttered words, and perhaps the same offerings of a fraction of a cent. In Buddhism also, "not knowing what it is," he worships and implores. Nor in popular Buddhism is the moral nature yet aroused or any demand made for holiness. Shinto yielded to Buddhism simply as the less to the greater, the Chinese system appealing irresistibly to the emotions and the imagination, merely intensifying the religious experience.

None the less irresistible was the appeal to the intellect. This was for the few; and yet, as always, the few determined the faith of the many. Of the teaching of the earliest sects we know nothing, and our survey begins with the doctrines promulgated in the eighth and ninth centuries; nor can we more than point out in the most general fashion their characteristics, since our limits do not permit even a cursory review of the history of Buddhist doctrine. Yet we may readily find enough for our purposes, as the mind of man works along such well-defined lines that we need only a sign-post at the beginning to comprehend the destination.

According to the Greater Vehicle, the development of doctrine in the Buddhist community has corresponded to the successive periods of Buddha's life after his attainment, represented to the imagination

by his conflict and victory under the Bo tree.[1] Our modern scholars interpret the struggle psychologically. It was a victory over temptations common to men; that is, Buddha, on coming to full self-consciousness, is tempted to use his powers for conquest, or at least to rest content with his own salvation, without undertaking the thankless and onerous task of saving others. But so prosaic an explanation does not satisfy even the Little Vehicle, for it describes the scene with all the wealth of imagery at the command of the Indian imagination, showing Gautama assailed by infernal powers, but remaining unmoved and serene until the Evil One himself recognises his defeat.[2] This, however, is not sufficient for the Greater Vehicle, for it not only raises the conflict to a struggle of cosmic significance, but it foreshadows in the sermon preached at its conclusion the entire development of Buddhist doctrine. Thus, while in his mortal body Buddha preaches to men, with a spiritual body he proclaims the same truth to all who in the future shall become

[1] See, in general, Lloyd's *Developments of Japanese Buddhism*. T. A. S., xxii.

[2] *The Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King*, iii., 13. *Sacred Books of the East*, xix., pp. 147 *ff.*, Beal's trans. See also the description, iii., 14, p. 165, of the coming of the desire to preach after his attainment. *Cf.* the corresponding sections of the trans. from the Sanskrit text in vol. xlix. of the same series. Both of the temptations named above are suggested by Mara—Prince of Evil—to enter Nirvana at once, vol. 49, xv., 11, and to become a world conqueror, xv., 37–46.

Buddhas, and with his third and real body he is simultaneously fixed in his eternal state in contemplation of the Absolute. Already, then, we have the fundamental metaphysical distinction, the things which are unseen are real and eternal, while the things which are seen are temporal and illusory.

The same distinction belongs to all of Buddha's activities. He begins his labours by a sermon, and the great tope near Benares still marks the place of its delivery. Its substance, according to the Little Vehicle, was a simple summary of the elementary truths,[1] and readily understood by the people, but the Greater Vehicle makes it the first period of Buddha's activities, and in its account of the same discourse are found all which is esoteric and metaphysical in the doctrine of the developed schools.[2] This first brief period of activity was named Kegon. But it was too advanced for the multitude and therefore ensued a period of twelve years, called Rokukon (Deer Park) from the place of Buddha's residence. Because of the hardness of men's hearts the Master set forth the doctrines of the Little Vehicle, and from this period come the scriptures which constitute its canon. Then followed a period of expansion, when he preached to Bodhsattvas in the ten

[1] Beal's trans., *op. cit.*, iii., 15.

[2] The scene of the first discourse is different as well as its substance. It is given at once on attaining salvation.

regions, his doctrine assuming a form of greater importance and profundity (Hodo), but this was only introductory to a fourth period (Dai Hannya), when he teaches the doctrine of the Absolute, which is the negation of all which is finite, and therefore can be neither described nor comprehended by the ordinary processes of the intellect. But Buddha did not stop here. In the fifth period, with more positive conceptions he described the one heart and the one nature of the Absolute, which is in all things and constitutes them all, which cannot be set forth indeed in words, but which is incarnate and manifested by successive Buddhas, and in which we live and move and have our being. This last period is called Nirvana (Nehan), and from it come the characteristic scriptures of the Greater Vehicle.[1]

As thus Gautama's life was divided into five periods which corresponded with the great divisions of his teaching, so has the community followed the same order of development. Thus for centuries only the Little Vehicle was preached, until in the fulness of times mature teachers were born who were able to comprehend the profounder aspects of the Master's doctrine, and the highest stage was reached in the Buddhism of China

[1] T. A. S., xxii., pp. 347–353; also p. 441. Cf. *The Ideals of the East*, by Okakura, pp. 71–81, with its recognition of Hinduism as "the inclusive form of the nation's life."

and Japan; nor were these teachers inferior in authority to the historic Gautama, but were incarnations of the same original Buddha of enlightenment.[1]

It is apparent how far we have come. Buddha is no longer the historical Gautama, nor is the truth identical with his system. As simultaneously he was visible to men and gods in a human body under the Bo tree, and was present in eternal, unchangeable, spiritual communion with the Absolute, so Buddha is at once the historical personages, who have taught successively the truth to men, and the Absolute itself.[2] The historic Buddhas have been many, and their phenomenal consciousness has varied, but essentially they are all one in the invisible being of the Infinite. Two results are gained at once, the historical Gautama occupies a subordinate place since a way is opened for belief in many Buddhas, and salvation in Nirvana is replaced by the desire for the attainment of Buddhahood and absorption in the Absolute. Hence the ancient gods of Japan were proclaimed to be incarnations, and an all-embracing comprehensiveness was attained, but at the cost of

[1] Quite a different division of the history, with gradually decreasing powers, is given by the Shin sect. See p. 126-7 below.

[2] Thus a Mahayana *Life of Buddha* begins: "I am about to describe the traditional life of Sakya Tathagata, with respect to the essentially pure and universally diffused body—*that* is incapable of beginning or end. But by the constraining power of his great love he was led to assume a human form and he was born."—Beal, *Catena*, p. 130.

surrendering that which was distinctive, the most characteristic features of primitive Buddhism.

The comprehensiveness of Buddhism embraced not only differing scriptures, divergent and contradictory, but different ways of attaining salvation—by contemplation, by philosophic comprehension, by ascetic practices, —and various sects set forth these differing methods. The great sect in Japan called Ten Dai,[1] however, is eclectic, and combines the various ways of salvation.[2] Founded in the ninth century, it has become the parent of the other sects, for its strength was its weakness, as men laid hold of differing doctrines and differing methods, and on these basing their hopes established new sects and taught exclusive and mutually contradictory doctrines. The more transcendental forms are illustrated by two great sects, the Shin-gon (True Word) and the Zen.

The Shin-gon sect was founded by the great priest Kobo Daishi in the tenth century. Kobo visited China,

[1] T. A. S., xxii., pp. 373–382.

[2] It is based upon the *Saddharma-pundarîka*, or *The Lotus of the True Law*, trans. by H. Kern, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxi. "The teaching of the Lotus . . . comes to this, that every one should try to become a Buddha. It admits that from a practical point of view one may distinguish three means, so-called Vehicles (Yânas) to attain the *summum bonum*, Nirvâna, although in a higher sense there is only one Vehicle. These means are, in plain language, piety, philosophy or rather Yogism, and striving for the enlightenment and weal of our fellow creatures."—Kern's Introd., p. xxxiv.

wrought miracles, and was esteemed an incarnation of Buddha. His system shows Buddha as the centre of a world of ideas, which exists behind and within the unreal world of appearances. The centre of the world of ideas is Dai Nichi, identified by the common people with the sun, and around him are the four Buddhas of contemplation representing the highest abstractions, and around these group after group significant of genera and species, until the individual is reached. This is the "diamond" world, unchanging and real, while the phenomenal world is also grouped around Dai Nichi, who is represented not now as the sun surrounded by four planets, but as the centre of the lotus with eight Buddhas about him as petals. Thus he, or better IT, is the centre of all things, real and phenomenal, and correspondingly there are two ways of salvation, by meditation and knowledge, and by a righteous life. The end of the "Way" is reached when perfect knowledge is attained and the individual is absorbed in the Infinite. In popular language we become Buddha. Thus was the historic Buddha himself absorbed, and as his individuality disappeared, so has his distinctive teaching and glory, for he remains in the system only as one of the four Buddhas of contemplation, a symbol of the highest abstraction, one of the last ideas which remain before all is swallowed up in the Absolute.[1]

[1] T. A. S, xxii., 382–405. Cf. *Ideals of the East*, pp. 130–140.

The metaphysical character of the Greater Vehicle is revealed still more clearly by the Zen sect. It seeks salvation by meditation, and a divine emptiness. Its favourite hymn might well be:

"Oh, to be nothing, nothing!"

It distinguishes two selves—the first, of our conscious life, the self of presentations, the self of which we think and speak, the self of our ordinary feelings, thoughts, and will, the self which has the world as its object. But this self, with its distinctions between subject and object the knower and the known, the ego and the non-ego, is itself temporal, phenomenal, and illusive. The true self is beneath it and salvation is in its knowledge. We are to get below these distinctions of subject-object, ego-non-ego, knower-known, the I and the world, to the unchanging undifferentiated self, which is before them all and of which all are but temporary manifestations. To do this we are to rid our minds of their ordinary modes of operation, to put away study and striving of all kinds, and to destroy desire. Then in the undifferentiated pure material of consciousness we shall reach reality, a reality without describable content, excepting that it bears with it everlasting peace.[1]

[1] *Cf.* Prof. Motora's *Essay in Eastern Philosophy*, especially pp. 10 *ff.*; also *Ideals of the East*," pp. 170–176.

The method of attainment is by meditation and suggestion. There is a curriculum with prescribed postures and methods through which the seeker passes. His instructor suggests puzzling questions and trusts to the intuitive activities of the mind for knowledge of the answer. If a class be gathered, the comprehension passes from mind to mind without audible words, the teacher noting the enlightenment by the expression of the face. Naturally the Zen sect has not been numerous, but it still holds an honoured place, and its scholars are men of repute.

The Shin-gon and Zen sects are extreme illustrations of the divergence of the Greater Vehicle from the teachings of Gautama. The two Vehicles indeed have many points of difference. The "Little" has to do with only one Buddha, the historic Gautama, while the Greater Vehicle obscures his importance in a multitude of mythical Buddhas past and present and to come; the Little Vehicle sets forth Nirvana as the object of attainment, the Greater strives after Buddhahood,[1] and teaches that each disciple may become like the Master and aid in the salvation of others; the Little Vehicle refuses to speak of the ultimate questions, and is a religion without a God or a soul, the Greater is metaphy-

[1] See *Saddharma Pundarîka*, S. B. E., xxi., p. 106 *seq.*, for the revelation of this destiny of Buddhahood for all believers. It is one of the chief themes of this Sûtra. The Lord Buddha is really the being of them all.

sical through and through, and sets up again these ontological entities. But the chief difference, that in which all the rest converge, is in the doctrine of the Absolute. Gautama is represented as dissuading his disciples from seeking it, while in the Greater Vehicle its understanding is the end of endeavour, and believers are ever mindful of its presence behind the phenomenal world.

Wide as is the difference between original Buddhism, as set forth in the first course of lectures in this series,[1] and the doctrines of the Shin-gon and the Zen sects in Japan, yet none the less there are resemblances uniting all in one. Thus the beginning of Buddhism, its *a*, *b*, *c*, literally its[2] *i*, *ro*, *ha*, is the impermanence of all things. Everything passes away, nothing remains; to learn this is to make a beginning of wisdom. And the second truth is like unto it: in the fleeting, "borrowed" world there can be no salvation, no true satisfaction. In its very nature as fleeting, misery is embedded, and man, who desires permanence, chases shadows as he attempts gratification in a sphere of illusion. The practical lesson therefore is plain, flee the world, its relationships, its labours, its pleasures, its losses and its gains. Only thus is there salvation. To be religious is to be a monk, and there is room for lay

[1] *Buddhism*, by Rhys-Davids.

[2] The beginning of the syllabary as arranged in a verse by a Buddhist priest, so that a child learns first of all that "color and leaf fade away."

brethren only by accommodation, as the best they can hope is for a chance for the truly religious life in some future existence.[1]

Another point of importance is transmigration. Gautama denies the doctrine of the soul, but he believes in the reincarnation of influence, of the net result of our lives, and as this is given mythological form it differs from transmigratiom not religiously, nor popularly, but only ontologically. Gautama is represented as conscious of the infinite succession of previous existences, and in the birth stories he concludes by declaring that the lion, the prince, the beggar, or whatever form the hero might have taken, was himself. Doubtless he took over this doctrine from the popular belief, nor is it necessary to his system, but none the less it became of the highest importance.

On the one hand, the doctrine of successive existences all alike impermanent, all alike emphasising the folly, of seeking satisfaction in any of them, heightened the first doctrine and minimised the world. It was adding the entire universe of the imagination to the motive which led to flight from the world we now inhabit.[2]

[1] Cf. *The Sermons of Asvaghosha* translated by Beal. *Buddhist Literature in China*, pp. 101 *ff*. The opposing disputants are always converted in the end and enter the order.

[2] The conviction of "misery" takes the place occupied by the conviction of "sin" in Christianity, and this teaching of successive existences that of the "terrors of the law."

But precisely in proportion as this teaching was thus emphasised became the necessity for a metaphysics, for here men were forced to distinguish between appearance and substance, though Gautama refused to answer such questions, and his immediate disciples declared them understandable only by a Buddha—that is, by omniscience. Meanwhile a certain explanation is vouchsafed with which the ordinary intellect is to rest content. Thus, though all things disappear, *karma*, the law, cause and effect, forever endures. This is unchangeable, eternal, and it is not only embodied in all phenomena but it constitutes them. Thus in ourselves it is *karma*, the result of our previous series of activities, which forms us and constitutes us men or animals or insects or gods.

But it is impossible to check inquiry at this point. A pragmatic philosophy, which declares itself content with truth in which all agree, will not long content any. And so it was with the Mahâyâna, its scholars pressed on to further inquiries and further explanations. For how is it that Buddha, in all his incarnations—god, insect, animal, bird, man,—is ever one, and how is it that the never-ending law produces again and again the same results in series which are identically the same? Thus my teacher in Buddhism once said to me: "In all preceding worlds there has been an American named Knox, seated in a room precisely like this, studying

Buddhism with a Japanese named Takahashi, and so shall it be in all the worlds to come." How comes it that the great wheel of existence thus forever revolves without alteration though with seeming change? Whenever this question is asked, the answer is the same, the change is an illusion, the unchangeless is the reality,—the things which are seen are temporal, the things which are unseen are eternal. And the lesson drawn is forever the same: we must free ourselves from the phenomenal and cleave only to the noumenal. In many portions and forms this is the message of the Mahâyâna, for the object of its endless search is the Absolute, and the end of its salvation is the absorption of the finite in the Infinite. It is apparent that thence come various sects and schools, since all efforts fail and each must be tried in turn. The greater the earnestness, the greater the dissatisfaction, and the greater the probability that the devout soul will turn to some new device for the attainment of the desired end.

Thus is Buddhism transformed, making central what Gautama denied, and thus does metaphysics revenge itself upon its denial. So far as we may judge, Gautama simply took over transmigration, as we have said. It is not of the essence of his system, though he doubtless believed in it. The modern exponents of his doctrines are quite able to teach them without faith in

this mythology, and find his truth the clearer without it.[1] And this statement raises the question as to the essential feature in the system. Was it the great truths and the noble eightfold path? Was it the revolt against metaphysics and asceticism, and the emphasis on charity and a common morality? In these things, at least, we find Buddha's differentia; in them he turned from the religious thinking and methods of his times, and in them he made a contribution to the ethics and religions of the world. But if we mean by essential not his own world view, nor his own teaching; if we are to find it not in the religion of Buddha but in Buddhism, and if we are to take as determinative the faith of the majority of the adherents to the complex systems which bear his name, then we shall answer our question from the Mahâyâna, and shall find that Buddha was not a Buddhist. For thus do the traditional drapings of a teaching obscure its meaning, the clothing choke the life.

The transition from the primitive religion of Japan to Buddhism is illustrative of the change from natural to supernatural religion. In Shinto is the worship of the world which now is; but in Buddhism, even in the Hînayâna, this world is denied, and the emphasis is transferred to another sphere. In the story of Buddha under the Bo tree already the Hînayâna sees

[1] Cf. *The Gospel of Buddha*, by Paul Carus.

him in conflict with transcendental foes, while the Mahâyâna transforms him into the representative of its scheme of metaphysics. In both instances we have the religion of the supernatural—that is, of the world behind the world; in one instance it is formed by the sensuous imagination, and in the other of concepts, a transition which is the outcome of the natural working of man's mind.

The explanation of the origin of supernatural religion has been sought in many directions—in ghosts, in dreams, in the anthropomorphisation of the world, in the projection of man's own shadow upon the universe, in the irruption of the subconscious into the conscious, in abnormal states wherein the subject is really deranged, in second sight, in hypnotism and the allied phenomena, in apparitions, in visions, revelations, and miracles. But none of these, nor all of them, account for the phenomena, which are as old and as universal as humanity itself. Men everywhere have been believers in the world behind the world, refusing to be content with the visible, audible, and tangible world of sense and time. So universal a fact must have an explanation, and this in man's mind.

Max Müller and many others suppose religion to be the discernment of the Infinite in the finite, and in their explanations they describe the Infinite not as the Absolute, nor the limitless of the metaphysician, but

as this consciousness of something more in which reality consists. But, as we have seen, there is religion when as yet there is no clear thought of the invisible world. It remains wholly within the realm of nature. It worships the object itself, as tree, mountain, cavern, sun, sea, awaken reverence and excite acts of devotion and feelings of dependence with prayers and offerings. Man knows no soul neither in himself nor in nature, though he is dimly conscious of a greater than himself to which he renders homage, and intuitionally feels that the fulness of the object of sense is not exhausted in what he touches, sees, and hears.

This is while he remains unreflective, while power attracts his attention and the passing scene suffices. When memory and anticipation become active and reflection begins, then he gains a larger world, past and future, and he begins to classify his objects and to discriminate. He had been as the man who saw trees as men walking, but now, as he attempts to assign effects to causes, a new world opens before him, as to the man whose eyes were touched the second time, and he sees all things clearly. It is a new world, and yet the old, and its newness is in the ideas and the imagination which give form and substance to the universe he constructs, the universe of science, philosophy, mythology, and religion, and which becomes to him reality in a higher sense. He has obtained his

measure for the fleeting world, which, in comparison with the unchanging world beyond, flows away in worthless speed. This apprehension of the temporal, the tangible, as illusive and unreal, represents the Buddhist faith in its first stage, while contrasted with it is the Brahman assertion of the permanence of the concept—that is, of the substance, of the noumenon, of the Absolute. All phenomena pass, the underlying reality only remains. But against this Buddha protested, for to him there was neither soul nor Absolute, and we gain salvation only by ceasing the bootless search, for Nirvana is the utter passing away, the complete going out, from which there is no returning.[1]

But, as we have noticed, even for Buddha there was *karma*, law, unchanging forever, and this constituted itself the reality of his religion. For it only abides and is eternal behind phenomena. Hence the world behind the world came back again, and Buddhism, to the majority of its followers, is as metaphysical as Brahmanism, and as supernaturalistic as popular Hinduism.

Incidentally, then, we may answer the question which has often been put: How comes it that the religion which knows neither the soul nor God, neither Heaven nor Hell, and which has no place for prayer, has claimed unnumbered multitudes as its votaries?

[1] Cf. *Mahâ-Parinibâna-sutta*, *iii.*, 20; S.B.E., xi, 48; also Hopkins in *The Religions of India*, pp. 335–336.

Our answer is that it has not, for Buddhism has met the needs of men by conforming to man's mind, and by a perfectly natural process reinstating what its founder denied. Buddhism in the beginning attempted to be entirely of nature, but *karma* and the inherited belief in transmigration rendered its denial of the soul and of God of none effect, since material was given for the construction of the world behind the world, the super-nature. On the one hand it was conceptual, the world of ideas deified; on the other it was popular, the imagination given free play in the greater world, which is not bound by the laws of time and space. The Lesser Vehicle revels in the latter, and the Greater Vehicle in both.

This, the achievement of supernatural religion in placing reality in the world behind the world, is none the less the achievement of philosophy and of science. These three agree in turning from mere phenomena to that on which they depend. Popular religion uses the traditions and myths of the people and weaves them into a magic world; philosophy turns from percepts and images to concepts and reifies them, and science makes up its world out of atoms, or, if the fashion changes, out of centres of force, or electrons, and changeless laws, so that, though the world and the fashion of it change, continuity is preserved and the fundamental laws are held as

everlasting. Indeed, the scientist may dream of reducing all qualitative differences to quantitative, so that behind the world of an infinite variety we have a series of numbers of a limitless monotony, which is the reality of the universe itself.

Doubtless, the abnormal in man has stimulated the notion of a super-nature, which breaks into the world of scientific law and knowledge and doubtless these abnormal phenomena have given rise to forms of magical religion; but this is secondary, and it is not the source of supernatural religion, which cannot come from the abnormal nor find its necessary content in miracle or magic, since it is co-extensive with reflective humanity.

The super-world of the imagination, revealed in diverse fashions, excites no religious emotion in many minds, as it seems inferior to the world we know. So do the visions of positive religions fade away; reflecting the life and hopes of their own times, they grow cold and dim. We should not like the Republic of Plato were it offered to us, not the Heaven of Mohammed, nor the Paradise of the Chinese Buddhists. As heavens cease to call forth desires, so do men outgrow gods, and, like Buddha, they may deny the super-world in order to preserve their religion.

But even so straightway man constructs another order of the supernatural. Thus have philosophers

in all ages, denying the other world of the sensuous imagination, rendered worship to pure ideas, and they have found themselves in the peace of a perfect trust in the contemplation of the unseen and the eternal, and salvation has come as they have identified themselves with it. So was it with Spinoza, and with the Chinese philosophers of the eleventh century A.D., and with the Buddhist monks of the Mahâyâna.[1] Or man may make science his religion as he feels himself in the presence of that which is greater than himself, which he reverences and adores, and in dependence upon it finds peace and rest. For irreligion essentially, in the world and in the super-world, is the habit of mind which, finding nothing which it adores, no superior to itself, is at once satisfied with its own pre-eminence and self-sufficiency. But such an attitude is at once abnormal and untrue to the facts of our common experience. So that religion, far from being the offspring of the abnormal and the lawless, is itself the emotional expression of man's deep consciousness of his true position in the universe.[2]

[1] *Cf.* Acvaghosha's *Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahâyâna*, translated from the Chinese by Teitaro Suzuki. It is to be highly recommended as a representative writing of the *Mahâyâna*.

[2] I append the inscription on the tomb of a Buddhist prelate, translated by my friend the Rev. K. Ibuka, D.D.:

The Hoin Jakudo [here] Seeks Nirvana.

The Hoin (high rank of Buddhist priesthood) Jakudo who was

called Tannen (Fulness) and whose *nom de plume* was Gaun (Sleeping Cloud) was a native of the capital of the province of Nagato. He was a descendant of the noble family of Seiwa Genji and his original name was Tojo. His ancestors lived in Tojo in the province of Aki and they adopted the name as the family name. The Teacher Jakudo was the second son of Kuninao Toyo kun. When he was thirteen years of age he was admitted into the priesthood in the temple Shugakuin and soon distinguished himself for quick perception and brightness of mind. As he matured he cherished a great ambition to travel through the whole country in search of sacred places and famous teachers; his object was thus to reach the fountain-head of both the esoteric and exoteric doctrines of Buddhism and at the same time to master all the branches of secular learning. After thus wandering about for several years he finally returned and took his abode in Jishoin Eifukuji. Afterwards he moved to Hokwoji and rebuilt its shrines, greatly adding to their beauty and splendour. The Master was a man of humble mind. He never flattered the vain world or sought after popularity. In the fourth year *Bunka* (1807) he retired from the active duties of a priest in order to enjoy the remainder of his life in peace. After his retirement, by general request (or vote) he was raised to the rank of Hoin, although it was contrary to his own desire. Upon a certain day of a certain month the Master selected on the seaside a site for his own tomb. He himself wrote the Sanskrit character and his name and requested me to write his epitaph, which I did as follows:

The abounding fulness of the sea of Law
Is like that of the yonder sea whose face the waters cover.
The tides bring the blessed tidings;
The wind wafts the ship of mercy;
How delightful to rest on such seaside—
Oh the Infinity of Bliss, Endless Happiness!

TOJO JUNSHIN

The Master entered Nirvana
on August 20th, in the eighth
year of *Bunsei*. (1825.)

## LECTURE IV.

### Developments of Buddhism. Salvation by Faith. Supernatural Religion.

BUT if we exaggerate, the world revenges itself upon the super-world. The worship of the Absolute requires quiet, leisure, and contemplation. Gautama in the beginning put away the activities of his state and family never again to resume them, and Buddhism has consistently insisted upon flight from the world. Its method forbids occupation, toil, the activities of life; for the world is evil through and through and must be renounced, and this not in theory only but in practice. Yet Gautama turned from asceticism as a failure—a failure in its principle and in its results. Thus he accepted in the beginning of his career the "deer park," which became his abode in the rainy season, for the super-nature still finds its support in nature, and the man of the world endows establishments for religion, vicariously sharing in their benefits. Monks were forbidden all industry, and

were made dependent upon free-will offerings. Even in our earliest sources a gift brought merit to the giver,[1] and before long such gifts assumed transcendent importance—better a gift of a trifle to a monk than a fortune to the vulgar sick and poor. So was it pre-eminently in Japan. The Government in the seventh century endowed the temples, and great nobles and emperors vied with each other in gifts. Hence as early as the eighth century there are loud complaints of the wealth and luxury of the orders, and of the added burdens laid upon the laity; for the possessions of the orders were freed from all burdens, and in their vast extent became a grievous evil.[2]

Thus the world came back and took possession of the order devoted to the super-world. For not only did the desire for merit stimulate gifts, but the religious emotions gave wide field for their employment. The emotions of reverence and dependence, called first into activity by nature, are fostered by art, for they are akin to the æsthetic feelings. Hence come groves and temples and gardens, and pictures and images, and elaborate vestments and rituals, and elaborate ornaments costly and magnificent. The wealth of the Japanese artistic temperament poured itself out upon the adornment of its religion, so that art and religion

[1] *Cf.* The Mahâ-parinibâna-sutta. S. B. E., xi., p. 84.
[2] See A., pp. 342–343.

seemed one—a unity fostered by the mystic worship of the Absolute, with its conception of illusion and its mysterious glimpses of the real world behind the veil of sense.

Still other elements entered in. It was the Court which first welcomed Buddhism, and the conversion of the nation began with its chiefs. The Church of the powerful, the wealthy, and the aristocratic became powerful, wealthy, and aristocratic. Heads of the great families became abbots, and emperors retired into monasteries. The "merit" gained through thus becoming "religious" influenced the imagination, already before the close of the *Nihongi* we see how powerfully. Other motives also operated—the influence of the world corrupting "other-worldly" religion. For surely no corruption is greater than this, the admission on false pretences of that which has been formally expelled. The world had been cast out and repudiated, but wealth, power, the gratification of the senses, the longing for a luxurious life of retiracy, and the example of the aristocracy led to the adoption of a religious life from irreligious motives, and the abode of monks became the home of worldliness.

The condition is reflected in the literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It shows a civilisation effeminate, luxurious, immoral, without earnestness or purpose, religious certainly, but with a religion which

was in part of superstition, in part of satiety, and in part of æsthetics.[1] The intelligence of the nation is turned to art, and the control of affairs slips from the enervated grasp of the Emperor and of his nobles. In the twelfth century the long peace broke up, and there ensued five centuries of bitter strife.[2] The religious orders participated in it. The head of a great sect, the Shin-shu, became the baron of one of the greatest provinces for a century. Monasteries became citadels, and the armed monks of Hieisan overawed the capital, while later the knights of the Church militant defied the arms of one of Japan's greatest generals for ten years. Thus the Church became a part of the world, and the world with its ambitions and pleasures drove out the super-world and its aspirations. Sect struggled against sect and Buddhist persecuted Buddhist, repeating point by point the history of religious establishments in other lands. It is not surprising that ultimately the Buddhists extirpated the Christians, the Christian orders themselves being soldiers of the world, who, having converted the Japanese barons, sought the conversion of their subjects by force. The Buddhist

[1] Cf. *Ideals of the East*, pp. 141–144. The most famous of the mediæval romances, *The Genji Monogatari*, has been in part translated into English by K. Suyematz.

[2] Probably the attempted centralisation had not been complete. Great men in the provinces went their own way, and in the capital rival families struggled for pre-eminence. The Emperor was never really ruler of all Japan.

monks knew well how to enlist the secular arm in their defence, and needed no lessons in warfare. But how strange the anomaly! The followers of the "Enlightened Teacher" of forgiveness and mercy in bloody conflict with the missionaries of the "Prince of Peace"! There was nothing to choose between them—in ferocity or in apostasy from the principles they professed. Ultimately, under the Tokugawa family, the state asserted its thorough-going supremacy, and reduced the Buddhist faith to a condition of subserviency. Simultaneously it ceased to be the religion of "gentlemen," and became the refuge and the comfort of the aged and the lowly. In our day, finally disestablished, it is dependent wholly upon the sympathy and the offerings of the people, and its revival is a revival of religion and not of worldly activities and interests.

Buddhism, however, cannot remain content with the aristocratic allegiance of the few. It is eminently a missionary religion, both by the example and precept of its founder, and his spirit still inspires its most faithful members. But the religion of the Absolute is ill-adapted to the popular comprehension. A saving knowledge of its infinite abstruseness can be attained only by the elect, and by them only through much sacrifice and labour. Aware of the difficulties of the way, and of the attenuated atmosphere breathed by

those who have accomplished the journey and dwell in the presence of the beatific vision, those who have thus "attained" are least of all inclined to attempt the impracticable task of exciting the multitude to the same attempt. Therefore missionary activity must content itself on lower planes. For just as it is impracticable for all men and women to enter the orders—for how then would the great multitude be fed?—and as the laity who work may obtain an inferior merit by feeding the religious who worship, so the common man who cannot worship the Absolute may nevertheless be led gently in the upward direction by teachings adapted to his low estate and humble condition.

As we have already seen, the Mahâyâna recognises five stages in Buddha's own teaching, and five corresponding periods in the development of doctrine in the Church. Only in the fulness of time was the whole truth made known, but meanwhile Gautama accommodated his words to the capacity of his hearers. Thus may his followers also, and hence there grows up a system called by the Buddhists "ho-ben,"[1] where symbol is put for idea, and the abstract truth is

[1] Religious allegory we may name it, or symbolism, or what ever euphemism we may substitute for the words opponents use—"pious fraud." See the justification of "ho-ben" in the *Saddharma-Pundarîka*, S. B. E., vol. xxi., pp. 71 *ff*. Just as a man entices boys from a burning building by offering them the toys which chance to be at hand, afterwards giving them something far better than he had promised, so does

rendered in the concrete forms of the imagination. Thus for the Shin-gon sect *Dai Nichi* may be the most abstract of all ideas, surrounded by the ideas which represent the highest genera, while to the populace *Dai Nichi* may be the sun, more or less clearly identified with the Sun-goddess of the Shinto faith, and surrounded with planets. The esoteric teaching may have to do with self-identification with the Absolute, while the popular preacher talks of a materialistic Hell and Heaven, and even adorns his temple with realistic pictures of the torments of the damned and the bliss of the redeemed. He holds thus for himself the kernel of his system, but he suits it to the people's needs by wrapping it in husks. It becomes then ultimately difficult to be sure what is intended even by the higher doctrine unless one passes through all the stages and observes truth from the point of the highest attainment.

Eventually such a system threw a shadow of insincerity over the whole doctrine. This doubt found expression in many popular sayings:

"Just as the seller of sweets blows a flute and sings a song, not for the sake of the tune or song but only that he may sell his wares, do the monks preach doctrine, not because it is true but only that they may lead

Buddha adapt his teaching, his truth being something far better. Yet Buddha declared that he had made no such distinction. See S. B. E. xi., p. 36.

to virtue. . . . Just as the nurse tells her charge that there is a dragon in the garden, only that the child may fear to venture near the edge of the veranda, so do the priests talk of the torments of Hell,"

until at last

"Swallowing the device of the Priests
Well satisfied they dance their prayers."[1]

When once this is understood, naturally the teaching function of the monks is at an end, and the people no longer throng their preaching-halls. The intelligence of Japan in fact has broken once for all with the system, save indeed here and there the earnest mind which is really in earnest in its search for the Absolute, or some faithful student who holds fast in reverence to the traditions of the past.

Were the worship of the Absolute on the one hand, and "ho-ben" on the other, the whole of any religion, it could not long maintain itself with the multitude. But the resources of supernatural religion are ample. In Buddhism another development is of profound significance and interest. As we have seen, in the construction of the world behind the world man may rely chiefly upon concepts, or chiefly upon the images of the imagination. In Buddhism the metaphysical sects rely upon the former and use the latter by way of

[1] The quotations are from the *Shin-gaku Michi no Hanashi*, a series of sermons for the people. They show how the "ho-ben" were regarded in the early part of the nineteenth century.

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accommodation, while the popular sects, as always, rely upon the latter as expressive of the truth. A basis is found for the second in Gautama's teaching, as he takes over from the earlier tradition the notion of transmigration with its scenery and misery. He teaches his disciples to flee existence because it is an everlasting round of changing misery, and he forbids suicide because that is merely a change in existence and not its extinction. Now could one find an existence which is eternal and happy, evidently the necessity of extinction would cease, and such salvation is offered to humanity in the teachings of the sects of the Pure Land.

The sects of the Pure Land take as their scriptures three books, the large and the small *Sukhâvatî-vyûhas*,[1] and the *Amitâyur-dhyâna-sûtra*,[2] which are held to be from the last years of Buddha's life, containing his final teaching.[3] Their contradictions to his earlier teaching are admitted and insisted upon, but in the larger and the smaller *Sukhâvatî* there is also an important divergence. The "larger" still demands "a stock of merit" from us as essential to salvation, while the "smaller" declares that salvation is not a "reward and result of good works performed in this present

[1] Translated from the Sanscrit by F. Max Müller. S. B. E., xlix., part ii., pp. 1–107.

[2] Translated by I. Takakusu. S. B. E., xlix., part ii., p. 159, *seq.*

[3] His unauthentic teaching, we should say.

life."[1] Here in the fullest sense faith is made the way of salvation, and that not in ourselves, as Buddha in his final words exhorted,[2] but in "the power of another."

Gautama, the historic Buddha, is the speaker in these *Sûtras*, but he points away from himself to another, Amitâbha,[3] who lived "in an innumerable, and more than innumerable, enormous, immeasurable, and incomprehensible kalpa before now."[4] Not yet a Buddha for five kalpas, he "concentrated the perfection of all the excellences and good qualities of the Buddha countries, such as had never been known before in the ten quarters of the whole world, more excellent and more perfect than any, and composed the most excellent prayer."[5]

Now this prayer consisted of a series of aspirations, forty-six in number, all terminating with the vow: "May I not obtain the highest knowledge"[6] if the aspiration be not realised. These aspirations have to do with the perfection of Amitâbha's land, and with the salvation of all those who put their trust in him. The most important are the eighteenth, the nineteenth,

[1] S. B. E., xlix., ii., p. 98.
[2] S. B. E., xi., p. 38.
[3] Amida in Japanese.
[4] S. B. E., xlix., p. 6.
[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 11.
[6] P. 12–22.

and the twentieth. In these it is declared that all who put their trust in him shall be saved.[1]

To the description of this paradise in the West,[2] Amitâbha's land, large parts of the two books and of the *Meditation on Buddha Amitayus* are devoted. This last *Sûtra* exhorts to the profound contemplation of Amitâbha and his paradise, and sums it up in the exclamation: "Even the hearing of the name of this Bodhisattva will enable one to obtain immeasurable happiness. How much more, then, will the diligent contemplation of him!"[3]

Brought to Japan in the eleventh century of our era, this doctrine obtained wide influence and underwent a certain development. It was carried to its logical conclusion in the great denomination called Shin, "True," and also Hongwanji, the temple of the "original vow," and Monto and Ikku, "only," because it trusts only in Amitâbha.

It is from a synopsis of the doctrines of the sect issued by its chief authorities and from the writings of

[1] Pp. 15–16. *Cf.* p. 73. "When I have obtained Buddhahood, if those beings who are in the ten quarters should believe in me with serene thoughts, and should wish to be born in my country, and should have say ten times thought of me (or repeated my name),—if they should not be born there may I not obtain perfect knowledge;—barring only those beings who have committed the five deadly sins, and who have spoken evil of the good Law."

[2] P. 169.

[3] P. 183.

one of its greatest representatives that the following brief account is given. It thus accounts for its own divergence from the other sects of the Mahâyâna [1]:

There are various ways of attaining salvation—that is, of the passing over of the sea of existence to peace and safety beyond. The chief of these are four, namely: the methods of the "lengthwise passing out" and "crosswise passing over," and "sidewise passing out" and "sidewise crossing over," and these "passing out" and "passing over," "lengthwise" and "sidewise," have to do with the difficulty and ease of attainment. Now our sect teaches the way of the "sidewise crossing over." [2] The contrast between the two may be set forth by an illustration: the ways of the "lengthwise and sidewise passing out" belong to the sects of the Pure Path. Those who follow it are like travellers far from home, whose path lies across mountains and plains and rivers, difficult, long, and full of dangers, so that only the favoured shall succeed, while our denomination is of the Pure Land, and its methods like that of the traveller who finds a well equipped boat waiting to carry him to his destination, with favourable sea and wind, so that in

[1] The translation is by James Troup. T. A. S., xiv., 1 *et seq.*; also xvii., 101-143.

[2] The older sect, Jodo, taught the "sidewise passing out" method, still difficult, since the "stock of merit"—p. 122 above had its share in our salvation. But the Jodo-Shin sect unhesitatingly makes faith all. It rests upon the passage in the smaller *Sûtra* quoted above, p. 124. One repetition of prayer, *Namu Amida Butsu*, with faith, brings salvation—even without faith, said some extremists, lest there should remain even a trace of self-help. They teach that the faith itself is by the "power of another," p. 128 below.

peace and without labour he reaches his desired haven. And we differ from the other sects of the Pure Land in this, that we offer an immediate salvation, not after death but now, for he who puts his faith in Amida with unfaltering heart shall at once enter into peace and find salvation.

Not only is the distinction between the sects of the Pure Land and the Pure Path one of relative difficulty and ease, but of possibility and impossibility. For there is now no salvation by works. At the time when Buddha was on earth there were the law, the witness, and attainment, but after five hundred years attainment disappeared and there remained only the law and the witness; and then after a thousand years more the witness disappears and there remains only the law, but without power for obedience. How then shall men in these latter days find salvation by the Pure Path? For that is to seek snow in summer or fruit in winter, and the proof is seen in the monks themselves. They style themselves abbots. Externally they exhibit worth and goodness, internally they are full of covetousness and sordidness. They wear silks and satins, they sit on hair rugs luxuriously, they delude men, they deceive themselves. They forsake the world and are much more worldly than ever. They drink wine, they eat flesh. They love their wives, they love their children. If they are not employed with one thing, they are with another. What leisure have they for meditation? Of

inordinate lust, greedy for gain, they envy the worthy, they revile the good. Even if they set impetuously about the performance of religious duties, they lack the virtue of continuance. Nor can they concentrate their minds, for if they are not occupied with one thing they are with another. Thus we note the various Buddhist virtues denied to the monks, and it is therefore proved that in these days though the law remains there is no "practice" and still less "witness" of attainment.

Hence our only hope is faith:

"We are truly like this, unenlightened we are subject to the evil of Birth and Death; for long *kalpas* we revolve, floating and sinking; there seems no means of escape. But He, Amida Buddha, long *kalpas* ago, putting forth a heart of great compassion, planning through five *kalpas*, having accomplished the long *kalpas*, perfected his vow. He said: 'If any living beings of the ten regions who with sincerity, having faith and joy and ardent desire to be born into My Country, call my name to remembrance ten times, should not be born there, I shall not accept Enlightenment.'[1] 'If there are any living beings of the ten regions—be they householders or homeless, breakers of the Prohibitions, or without the Prohibitions, having wives or not having wives, having children or not having children, whether or not drinking wine or eating flesh, whether they be husbandmen or merchants, if only they put forth the believing heart and take refuge in the vow of Amida Buddha, they will throw out the radiance of Buddha.'"

[1] See p. 124 above, note.

But this faith itself is not of our own power, for to put forth faith by our own power is "like a picture drawn on water." Our faith itself then is not of ourselves, but by "the power of another"—that is, of Amida, and such faith is "like the diamond." Buddha, *i. e.* Amida, confers this believing heart on all men and hence all we need is the knowledge and a joyful response. We are not to suppose that even prayer to Buddha avails, or the repetition of his name, for this too is salvation by works, for true salvation is by his power only; and this once accepted, we thenceforth repeat his name and the formula taught us, *Namu Amida Butsu*, from gratitude. Thus it follows that the truth has to do not with our relations and acts in this world, but with faith and doubt in our minds, and faith assured, nothing matters.

"Our sect terms the attaining the rest of the heart the True System; the observance of the relations of life the Popular System. Our sect has granted the permission to marry. Hence the five relations of life necessarily exist. Where the five relations exist, the duties involved in them must be observed. Thus the Sovereign who installs his royal consort and partakes of his royal viands, attains salvation. The commoner who possesses a wife and eats flesh attains salvation. Although the sins of the unenlightened are many, if they are contrasted with the power of the Vow they are as a millet seed to the ocean. The eating of flesh, the having wives, are nothing to speak of. A stone is by nature

heavy; if cast into the water it sinks, but if placed in a boat it floats. The sins of the unenlightened are heavy; if cast on the three worlds they assuredly sink, but if placed on the ship of the Vow they are light."

Hence there is no merit in good deeds, for our best are full of "leaks" and in Amida's land there "are no leaks," and imperfection cannot inherit perfection.

Hence there is no essential difference between the clergy and the laity, the former being merely the guides and instructors of the latter, and like them permitted the whole round of the human activities. So, too, war itself is not forbidden; for the soldier may follow his calling without fear, and death in battle will be but entrance into the eternal life, only one is to be faithful in all the relations of life and ever to call Amida's name to remembrance out of thankfulness.

With this accommodation of Buddhism to the actual facts of life, and the full permission of all the activities and relationships and pleasures of life, comes also a transformation of the eschatology. It is no longer a Nirvana which is sought, and still less absorption in the Absolute, but a continued and sensuous existence in a Western Paradise, where there shall be no more sorrow nor suffering nor death nor labour, but an eternal satisfaction of all needs, and a complete under-

standing of all mysteries. Each will attain the happiness and enlightenment of a Buddha.[1]

Naturally enough such a teaching excited extreme opposition. By a pun upon the word the other sects called the sect not "true," but "new," and charged it with antinomianism, denominating it "ludicrously filthy." In popular estimation, also, it was esteemed ignorant, and with a certain reason, since why should profound study be necessary since shortly we shall know all? And for these reasons it was even denied the name Buddhist; and, finally, its teaching that the vilest criminal might be saved by faith excited the scorn of Confucianists.

The adherents of this sect are for the most part from the lowly and ignorant, and from them it calls forth an earnestness which is unparalleled in the other denominations. In our own day it remains the largest and the most influential, the most zealous, and, unburdened by a cosmology or a philosophy, most able to adapt itself to modern conditions. Judging the sect by the standards of the Hînâyâna, or of the Mahâyâna, or of our modern students who reconstruct the primi-

[1] Yet it is sometimes implied in esoteric teaching that Amida himself is only the "true self," and that thus the "original vow," and the Western Paradise, and the "power of another," are only "ho-ben," after all. *Cf.* the *Meditation on Buddha Amityûs.* S. B. E., xlix., ii., p. 178: "In fine, it is your mind that becomes Buddha; nay, it is your mind that is indeed Buddha."

tive teaching, we must indeed deny to the doctrine the name Buddhist, or possibly, better, we may regard it as the extremest possible development of the Buddhist presuppositions. For these it still retains. It too recognises the world as transient, and transmigration as the miserable lot of man. It too holds to an undeviating law of cause and effect, which determines absolutely one's lot in each existence, so completely that there is left no place for prayer.[1] We may not escape our fate in the smallest particular, for that is settled unchangeably by *karma*, but none the less we are saved now in a peace the world can never take away, and after death in Heaven. It too admits a way of salvation by laborious self-control and self-mastery. But from these presuppositions it draws conclusions precisely opposed to those taught in the Little Vehicle. Instead of proclaiming flight from the world and the religious life as the only way of escape, its rigorous interpretation of these terms of salvation condemns all who follow them, and reduces man to helplessness, or to salvation by the "power of another," the exaltation of the "law" bringing about its annulment.

Nor is it difficult to account for the acceptance of the fabulous Amida as source of salvation. Neither his existence nor his vows are proved, but only asserted and

[1] T. A. S., xxii., p. 425. *Cf.*, for the Shin sect, xxii., 412 *et seq.*

taken for granted. We wonder that a great system of religion may come into existence, build innumerable temples, maintain a hierarchy, and be taken as expressive of absolute truth by millions and for centuries without any evidence offered that its foundations exist other than in the fancy. But Amida himself is a part of the greater scheme of the Mahâyâna. It determined culture and it permeated all knowledge. Unchallenged it furnished the atmosphere and a large measure of the material of learning. Not yet was criticism prepared to discuss it. When now the methods of salvation by contemplation and philosophy broke down, and when men professing to leave the world became more worldly than before, the inherent desire for salvation turned to faith for its refuge. The fable of Amida offered ready resource. Adopted without criticism, it became the symbol and form of a great religious fact, the satisfaction of man's deep religious need. Forever does man seek that which, greater than himself he may adore, a greater than himself on which he may depend. The Shin sect in Japan bears testimony to this truth of man's nature and position. After all, his successive attempts in religion are like his successive attempts in science, neither more puerile nor more false. Certain needs imperatively demand satisfaction, and through them he comes to interpret the universe. Given an interpretation which

fairly answers his need, he is content, and to it he clings. Thus in science also does the hypothesis which for the time works gain acceptance, and the scientific student, notwithstanding theoretical doubts and questionings, clings to it until by and by an hypothesis appears which better satisfies his demands and more efficiently works. Equally does man's nature demand religious satisfaction, and it accepts this teaching and that, clings to this name or that, as the craving is satisfied and the teaching works. Nor will he, nor should he, renounce what he thus has, save as he finds the higher name and the sounder doctrine which better meets his craving and bears better fruit. The religions of the earth, however expressed, in parable and myth and fable, and however venerable, yet do not depend on these, but upon the nature of man, the nature which knows itself as dependent, and which goes forth in reverence and adoration.

Yet though thus we would justify Shin-shu, still in it Buddhism has come full cycle, denying all which its founder taught and affirming what he denied. The presuppositions, which he accepted uncritically from the popular cosmology, have their full revenge, destroying his positive doctrine. He taught salvation in Nirvana; the Shin-shu authorities put it in the Western Paradise. He taught flight from the world as necessary; they permit all human relationships and activities

—even war. He forbade faith, even in himself; they proclaim salvation by faith alone. He refused homage to God and belief in a soul, but they have again a god, Amida, and an immortal soul. Even his name is forgotten, and his historic title is applied to another, so that in the Shin temples there is no image of Gautama but of Amida alone, and in the prayers and teachings of sect there is no mention of him.[1] The line which connects modern Buddhism with the historic founder is cut completely, and in his place is the fable of one who has never visited our earth. Yet, after all, have the sectaries of the Pure Land forfeited their right to a share in the Buddhist name? Are they separated from the founder of the religion in his intent and purpose? If Buddhism consists of positive doctrine, in theology or in ethics, if its essence is to be found in a cosmology or in the denial of a metaphysics, if its historic continuity depends upon the preservation of the story of its founder, or in the knowledge of his name, or in the worship of his person, then indeed these sects have denied the faith. But if the essential thing in Buddhism is the loving heart which seeks to bestow salvation, and if in Gautama's temptation the truth which stands forth is really the root of the matter, viz., that his "attainment" was not for himself but for the salvation of humanity, then may the followers

[1] See p. 135, below.

of the Shin sect claim to be his brethren of the spirit. For in this spirit they too share in larger measure than others who are truer to the letter. He gave himself for the world and its salvation, and they believe in a virtue, not their own, which is able to save to the uttermost. His method and his doctrine they repudiate, but in his heart they put their trust. His name perishes, but his will works on, for to them, as to him, the greatest thing in the world is not metaphysics, nor asceticism, nor rites and ceremonies, but self-sacrificing love.

In the thirteenth century another important sect arose in protest against the doctrines of the Shin-shu. Its founder, Nichiren, when a youth, "observed some children dragging about an image of Sakya-muni, which they were using as a plaything. Shocked at such strange profanity, he remonstrated," and was told that since the founder of Shin-shu "had demonstrated the futility of all Buddhas except Amida, they did not seem to have any further use for the image of Sakya-muni, and so had allowed the children to play with it."[1] He was a member of the Tendai sect, and, starting now on a career of reform, he made its scriptures, the *Saddharma-Pundarîka*, the basis of his own teaching. In this Lotus of the True Law Buddha is called by divine names. He is the God of gods, the

[1] T. A. S., xxii., p. 438.

Father of the world, the Self-born one, the Chief and Saviour of all, eternal, almighty, all-wise.' He is elsewhere referred to as the cause of existence, the "Supreme Nature of the First Cause."[2] The true Buddha, the Nichiren-shu teaches, "is the source of all phenomenal existence, and in whom all phenomenal existence has its being. The imperfect Buddhism therefore teaches a chain of cause and effect; true Buddhism teaches us that the first link in this chain of cause and effect is the Buddha of Original Enlightenment, of whom the historical Sakya-muni and the rest are but the transient reflection."[3]

The approach to the belief in a creator-God is manifest; the world no longer appears as self-existent, nor as an illusion produced by ignorance, but as caused by him.

As has been pointed out by another, the Mahâyâna is Buddhist gnosticism. Had gnosticism triumphed in the Christian Church, and in place of the historic Christ had Æons many and various been worshipped, in place of the New Testament had differing documents been substituted as authoritative in different sects, the result would have been the same. In this, then, we may note as a profound difference, that in the

[1] S. B. E., xxi., Introd., xxv.–xxvi. *et passim*.
[2] Beal, *Catena*, p. 331.
[3] T. A. S., xxii., p. 442.

West the historic continuity has been preserved, and with it the person, work, and teaching of the Christ have remained known and are confessed to be supreme.

One hesitates to forecast the future of Buddhism in Japan. It has met too many vicissitudes, endured too many transformations, and entered too deeply into the life of the nation to be lightly overthrown. During the Tokugawa regime, it was at once pampered and rendered powerless, while educated men forsook it for philosophic Confucianism. At the restoration of the Imperial rule in 1868 it was disestablished, and its leaders lost hope for a time. Now it has adjusted itself to the new conditions, and while it can never expect to hold its old position, it has regained a degree of religious confidence and zeal. Especially does the Shin sect attempt to accommodate itself to the new conditions, sending its priests abroad to study, seeking to fit its doctrines to the new learning, and beginning missionary enterprises in foreign lands. It adopts the methods of Christian missions, and exhibits signs of new life. Whether the new wine can be poured into the old bottles, who can tell? The enterprise does not seem hopeful, and yet vast is the power of organised religion, and the services rendered by the faith to Japan in the past may still make possible for it a career in the years to come.

## LECTURE V.

## Confucianism as Polity and Ethics.

## Ethical Religion.

FOR civilised Japan Confucianism supplied polity and ethics. As we have seen, Shinto contains no moral code. Its only precepts so late as the seventh century A.D. are "Fear the gods and reverence the Emperor." So marked is this feature that the men who attempted the revival of pure Shinto in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries turned it to the account of their scheme by proclaiming that only the evil-minded need morals, and that therefore the lack of ethics in the early records show the pure-mindedness of the Japanese. This statement is contradicted indeed plainly enough by the early records which, like most primitive chronicles, are unhesitating in recounting all which is remembered, the *Kojiki* being as frank in recording evil as are the Old Testament Scriptures, though unlike them it does not rebuke and punish sin.

Surely we are not to imitate the advocates of Pure Shinto in arguing from the text, and in attempting to

prove that the want of evidence establishes the want of all moral sense, but it is apparent, first, that the ethical element was not essential to the purposes of the men who compiled our sources, those purposes being, as we have seen, primarily dynastic; second, that in the primitive religion ethics and worship were by no means identical; and third, that the ancient ethics, like the ancient polity, was found ill adapted to the new state of things which already, when our sources were compiled, had become authoritative. For long before 712 the Confucian ethics had come to control conduct.

The relation of ethics to religion is one of the most difficult of topics, nor is it our purpose to discuss it here, further than to remark that our evidence all tends to show that in Japan the two were separate. Religion in the beginning was a sense of adoration and dependence, and these emotions were not directed toward ethical qualities but toward the mysterious and the powerful in nature, and nature thus worshipped is not ethical. The Japanese were still far from the stage when reflection permits the supremacy of the moral sense to be perceived.

The social state was so undeveloped that morals were not systematised until, as in all the other sciences and organised forms of life, the overpowering impression made by the world beyond the sea was felt. Then with the full tide of civilisation came in also ethics, and

the authority of the great name of Confucius. Nor was this hindered by Buddhism, but the rather favoured, for it had made terms with Confucianism, and the inherent contradiction in the two systems was not yet made clear, that remaining a task undone for centuries. Meanwhile Buddhism had its code of transcendental ethics for the "religious," and for the laity it taught the practical morals of Confucianism, yet with modifications of its own, as, for example, in a certain contempt for life in general, and in detail in such prohibitions, as that of eating flesh. But the chief modifications of the ethical system were from the genius of the Japanese and the requirements of their social organisation, for the ethics of China, however accepted formally, by no means satisfied the needs or controlled the conduct.[1]

China is indeed the land of Confucius, no other land so completely and perfectly represents its master. For millenniums he has been supreme, for his teachings have become a part of the texture of Chinese civilisation. Children learn his sayings by heart, the scholars of an hundred generations have devoted themselves to their elucidation; courts of law, the etiquette of social life, the government of the Empire, all alike acknowledge his infallible authority. Yet one may ask, Does China

[1] The supernatural sanctions showed themselves soon after the establishment of Buddhism. N. ii., 59, 111, 114, 233, with other instances.

embody the spirit of Confucius, or is he the incarnation and representative of its life?

Confucius himself does not profess to be an originator, but a transmitter.[1] He hands down, unchanged, traditions which in his day were already of immemorial antiquity, and he seeks not to destroy but to fulfil. Nor are we prepared to say that his profession is mistaken, for our evidence will not permit discrimination between his teachings and the doctrine of the ancients. His answer to the question would be unhesitatingly: he has originated nothing, but is the true disciple of the Sages, as they were the infallible interpreters of nature.

The interest of Confucius was confined to China. In its limits he lived and moved and had his being. It was for him coterminous with the world, for outside of it was only a fringe of outer barbarians. Its enlightenment and its civilisation represented the ultimate truth, and in its long history he found confirmation of his fundamental principles. Knowing nothing of the principles of criticism and reverent of antiquity, China had existed in uninterrupted continuity since the dawn of human life upon the globe, and its perfection had been attained in the reigns of Yao and Shun, in the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth centuries B.C. As matter of fact, we are allowing the longest time

[1] Analects, vii., 1.

possible to history, if we grant that it begins in the twelfth century B.C., a thousand years after the Golden Age, and yet long enough before Confucius for the tradition of an immemorial antiquity to become established. He lived in the sixth century B.C., in a time of disorder, when old things seemed about to pass away, and therefore he took up his parable and prophesied.

His presuppositions have to do with the identification of China in its ideal state with the fundamental principles of the universe. China has no external history, nor does it know of progress. Wholly self-contained, its conservatism is the natural result, and Confucius in this is typical. As are the laws of nature, universal in application, eternal in existence, unquestionable and final when established, so is it with the laws of Chinese society. They are not inventions, nor are they agreements, but they are of nature, whose chief expression they are. Man, therefore, does not invent them, but he learns them, and hence for him learning is the chief thing.[1] But learning is not speculation, nor is it wide in its interests. It is wholly pragmatic, and its one interest is man, and in him the interest is only ethical, for conduct is strictly all of life. Thus Confucius, though reverent of antiquity and a lover of it, cares

[1] *Op. cit.*, ii., 15, xvii., 8, xix., 5–7.

nothing for history as a mere chronicle of the past or as a collection of great deeds. It is of value only as the principles of conduct are derived from it, and a man may understand an hundred generations if he knows the present.[1]

With this intense and pragmatic interest in man as the sole study of man, other knowledge becomes altogether unimportant.[2] The physical world merely affords a stage for the development of human life and activity, but in itself has neither value nor interest; nor is theology or philosophy in better case. In so far as these affect conduct vitally let them have a hearing, but beyond this very moderate admission of their possible consequence they are not to be noticed.

When we come to study man, it is not with curiosity as to his psychology or physiology, but as to his natural relationships, for these determine at once the constitution of the state, the family, and the individual. Thus, in general, study is of morality and all else is without value. Specifically, the objects of study are the Book of Poetry, the Book of History, the Book of Changes, and the Rules of Propriety, for these contain the priceless treasures of the past.[3] To these the ages after the Master have added all the writings ascribed to him or to his disciples. But the method of study

[1] *Op. cit.*, ii., 23.
[2] xiii., 24, xv., 2.
[3] vii., 16–17, xvi., 13.

is by no means bookish, for the "superior" man who does not seek satiety in food, nor comfort in his dwelling, but is earnest in action, careful in speech, and frequents the society of men of principle that he may be improved, may be called a friend of study.[1] Thus the mind is set at first on study and then on the control of self. There result the five virtues, humanity, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and sincerity. Thus virtue is the chief thing, doing it is our business, and success is secondary.[2] But even the knowledge of the highest virtue and the love of it are rare, and should be grasped, cherished, and enlarged.[3]

Humanity is the chief virtue and love to parents is its foundation.[4] It finds expression in reciprocity, which is not sentimental nor left to chance expression. It means the service of one's father as we require the service from a son, the service of a prince as we require a servant to serve us, to serve the elder brother as we require the younger brother to serve us, and to offer first to our friends what we require from them.[5] But Confucius would not call himself a man of humanity in its full sense, as meeting the require-

[1] *Op. cit.* i., 14.
[2] xii., 21.
[3] vi., 27, xv., 3, vii., 6, xix., 2.
[4] i, 2. Brotherly love is joined to filial duty in the text. But the latter is really the essential thing.
[5] Doctrine of the Mean, xiii., 4.

ments of the law in these four relationships.[1] (It is noteworthy that Confucius here gives only four relations, omitting the fifth which was supplied by others, that of husband and wife.) The great precept of humanity is "Subdue thyself and return to propriety."[2] It is to behave abroad as if receiving a guest, to employ the people as if assisting at a great sacrifice, not to do to others as you would not have them do to you, and to have no murmuring against you in the country or in the family.[3] Thus loyalty is the chief expression of humanity, though it may be practised towards inferiors and friends and generally in the service of others. It includes dignity, reverence, indulgence, sincerity, earnestness, and kindness. The superior man never forsakes it, but obtains his name by it and in all emergences cleaves to it.[4] But no inferior man possesses it. It is not remote however, but if desired is near at hand, for the strength of every one is sufficient for it, but folks do not attempt it.[5]

Righteousness stands opposed to profit and forms the essential part of the superior man, and Confucius was troubled when hearing of righteousness he could not attend to it.[6] Valour is exalted by

[1] Analects, vii., 33.
[2] xii., 1.
[3] xii., 2.
[4] iv., 5.
[5] iv., 6.
[6] vii., 3.

it, and to know the right without doing it is cowardice.[1]

Evidently these virtues find their field for exercise in the family and in the state, and no such virtue as the monastic is recognised. It is true that the "superior man" may flee from society, but that is the confession that the times are out of joint and of final defeat. It is the denial of nature. For Confucius can conceive of man only as a social being, and not to belong to the well ordered family and state is to have no opportunity for virtue.

Thus man is simply the chief part of nature, and has his own highest place in it. He is not an alien or an intruder, nor is it his mere instrument, but he is an integral part of it and the highest. Now nature acts regularly, noiselessly, without effort, its actions expressing its inner qualities without straining, with everything in season, in place, and in order. When there is need of exertion, it is because things are out of place and unnatural, like storms, earthquakes, and disease. For there is a "Way" for all things, which they follow when nature is supreme and content; thus naturally it is cold in winter and warm in summer, and peace and quietude are normal. So is it with men: they exist in ranks and in relations, and when all is right all is peace and content. When we strain and strive, it is sign that

[1] Analects, ii., 24.

nature has given place and that the unnatural obtains. Society is normal and natural when each one is in his rightful place and performs its duties.[1]

But only the holy man, the Sage, instinctively knows and does his duty. It is not that he is omniscient but that he knows his own place and all that pertains to it, and that his conduct perfectly manifests his knowledge. Such an one is naturally Emperor, ruling as nature rules without exertion, for when the Sage, with folded arms enrobed, is in the place of power the nation follows his desire as the water shapes itself to the vessel in which it is placed.[1] So was it in the Golden Age when the Sages reigned; every one was in his own place, every one did his duty, and there was universal peace and content. But when this principle is supplanted all is wrong, and the empire is destroyed. The same principle applies in the family: let father be father and son be son, let husband be husband and wife be wife, with all in rightful place and all content.[2] Thus are all the relations of life marked out and determined, not by our wills or the will of mankind, but by nature, which has set men in states and families. The individual finds himself then in these relationships and his chief duty is to set himself right. Thus first he learns to govern self, and thence may proceed to govern the family, and

[1] *Okina Mondo.*
[2] Analects, xii., 11.

finally be exalted to rule in the province and in the Empire.[1]

The virtues are thus natural, as it is natural for the child to love its parent, and for the inferior to reverence the superior. Therefore if the child be unfilial or the inferior insubordinate, the superior is to examine himself and ask, How am I in blame that these do not render me what nature impels them to render?

But as all men save the Sage are ignorant, immense importance is attached to study, and to the rules of propriety. For nothing is left to chance and all is fixed in a rigid framework of conservatism, and for the larger part of men rites and rules become more important than inward estates and principles.

Now this system transported to Japan was not very well adapted to its new environment, and yet it accomplished large work in transforming it. As we have seen, the Confucian system bases all upon the family, for filial obedience is the type of virtue. Nowhere else has the patriarchal form of social organism been so completely carried out and so long preserved as in China. But in Japan it had scarcely come into full being, and it was soon to compete again with other forms of organisation more potent. Hence filial obedience, notwithstanding its inculcation through text-books for a thousand years, has never held first place, and the re-

[1] Analects, xiii., 13.

lationships have not taken their rightful Chinese order. The state itself, as we have seen, could not accept the theory, for the Emperor ruled not by virtue but by the sword. Nor could peace be the ideal, for the tradition and the facts were too opposed to it. Hence the system did not represent the people in such thorough-going fashion as on the continent and Korea was a far more obedient disciple. Yet Confucianism profoundly influenced Japan. It was the only system of ethics with the field to itself, and it was taught to all. The word of the Master was final, not only in casuistry but in courts of law.[1] The family was slowly reorganised according to its provisions, with the Chinese laws of consanguinity in place of the ancient confusion. Propriety took on a Chinese aspect; the style of dress, the insignia of officials, the ranks of society, the etiquette of social intercourse, the moral ideals of preachers and teachers and students, all this and more was affected. Nevertheless to the end the spirit differed, and the result was noticeably distinct.

The ages of peace which succeeded the reformation of 645 and the adoption of Chinese civilisation were marked by Buddhistic rather than by Confucian forms, and when the peace was broken in the twelfth century, and the era of the feudal wars ensued, Bushido, "the way of the warrior," became representative. It was in

[1] *Cf.* T. A. S., xxx., pt. ii, 192 *et seq.*

this period that the characteristic ethics of the Japanese were wrought out. Still are the Confucian terms employed, and still is reverence given to the Master. But now instead of peace there is war, and instead of the family with its filial piety as norm there is the feudal state with loyalty unto death as the highest ideal. The substitution is thorough-going and of far-reaching consequence, for in it the true "nature" of the Japanese asserts itself, and overcomes the theoretical and Chinese "nature" of Confucius.

The stories of the Chinese works of ethics have to do with good boys who supported their parents at great pains to themselves, and of studious boys who used extraordinary means for the obtaining of an education, and of exemplary wives and orphans and model sovereigns. But the Japanese works on ethics have to do with martial merits; men who gave up all possessions for the sake of lord and clan; men who, unjustly condemned, yet refused to give up their allegiance, but came forward in the last hour to share the disaster of their unjust and defeated lord; men who, when their lord lost position, refused employment by any other[1]; and "righteous samurai," who debauched themselves, divorced wife, drove away children, and wasted their substance in low pleasures, in order that

[1] See the series of illustrations in the *Shundai Zatsuwa*, T. A. S., xx., pt. i, pp. 98 *ff. et passim.*

they might throw their enemy off his guard and accomplish their deed of vengeance.[1] All this appealed to the Japanese heart, to its worship of the powerful and the wonderful, to its capacity for self-sacrifice, and to its instinct of loyalty, which now became its governing power.

This ideal powerfully affects the women also, and stirs them to a like devotion, so that mothers have slain themselves and their children in order that they may not live under the same heaven with the killers of their husbands and brothers[2]; and children are taught that they are to endure all hardship and all sufferings in order that they may be prepared for the hour of trial. "When in the morning you pass through the gate, go as never expecting to enter it again. Then will you be prepared for any adventure you may meet."[3] And the converse: "There is such a thing as trade. See that you know nothing of it, for trade is the only game in which the victor knows no peace."[4]

Righteousness and humanity come to possess connotations which seem the opposite of their primary

[1] The famous story is translated in Mitford's *Tales of Old Japan*. The title, "*Gi-Shi*," Righteous Samurai, was conferred on them by the author of the *Shundai Zatsuwa*.

[2] T. A. S., xx., pt. ii., p. 104.

[3] p. 62. [4] p. 130.

significance. A recent writer on "Bushido" describes "rectitude or justice" as "a manly virtue, frank and honest," the opposite of "cunning artifice," and yet in the preceding paragraph he names the forty-seven *ronin*, the men who went all lengths to throw their enemy off his guard, as its exemplars. Yet the riddle is not hard to read. The virtues, as interpreted by the samurai, forbade private gain, but permitted and enjoined stratagem and artifice in the struggle with the enemy. The righteousness was that of the soldier, which is tolerant of the errors of private life, but requires instant, complete, and unquestionable obedience.

We have then the Confucian system transformed and nevertheless an essential principle preserved, for it is the ethics of the organisation, and of the individual only as he fulfils the duties of his station. In himself he is nothing, for his relationships constitute his being. The system has the defects of its qualities. Its emphasis is so supremely upon the duty of the inferior, its virtues, as has been said, are so exclusively perpendicular, that the effect upon the superior was disastrous. The right of rebellion was denied, and the claim of the Imperial house made divine; and within the lower spheres of authority, loyalty was carried to such extremes that tyranny resulted. It was in vain that irreproachable proverbs

stated the duty of superior to inferior, and that the fundamental Confucian doctrine teaches the father to act as a father, and the Emperor as Emperor. "Let the ruler first rule himself, then he may rule his people." "Let the Lord of the empire never forget that the empire is the empire of the empire, it is not the empire of one man."[1] These and many more set forth the duty, but the system overcame them, making corruption in high places the rule. Hence the writers on ethics, like their fellows the world over, fill their pages with lamentations because precept fails and sin prevails.[2]

Moreover, with the exaltation of self-sacrifice and the thorough-going subordination of the individual to the organisation, the value of the individual is depreciated and a vigorous personality is not developed. For there is in the individual no most holy place which may not be violated, but daughter and son are to go to all lengths for the sake of parent or lord. A popular preacher can take as illustration of the very consummation of holiness a daughter who sells herself to a house of ill fame so as to procure medicine for her father who is ill, without a word of reproach for the

[1] T. A. S., xx., pt. ii., p. 93.

[2] *Cf.* T. A. S., xxx., pt. ii., pp. 132 *ff.* The entire record of Arai's connection with the Court of the *Shogun* is filled with accounts of the financial corruption and profligacy of the higher officials. See also xx., pt. i., p. 49 *et passim.*

parent who accepts the gift[1]; and in the story of the "Righteous Samurai" debauchery and degradation are sanctified by the purpose to avenge one's lord. The ethics, with its tremendous emphasis upon the sacrifice of oneself, comes at last to glorify suicide for insignificant objects, or even for no purpose at all. Thus one of the most famous writers on ethics can praise a man who refuses to serve any one when his lord has been defeated in battle, but finds an opportunity to destroy himself in a conflagration though his death benefits none.[2] Indeed so strong was this spirit that in the seventeenth century it was necessary to impose heavy penalties upon the families of the samurai who committed *hara-kiri* when their lord died.[3]

And once more, the Confucian ethics both in China and in Japan exalted the superior man, and left the inferior man to mere obedience. He could not understand, it was enough that he should do as he was told. Hence, though the books of maxims were industriously taught, yet the greater virtues of the samurai were for him only, and the masses were left to their own devices and to the teachings of the Buddhist priests, with the result that in no small measure among the peasants

[1] *Shin-gaku Michi no Hanashi.* It might be even "to get funds to pay for the father's dissipation and the like."—*Bushido*, p. 27.

[2] T, A. S., xx., pt. i., p. 109.

[3] T. A. S. xix., p. 528.

the ethics of prehistoric times remained, with ancient superstitions and customs little affected by the transformations which have gone on around and above them.

Confucius exalts courage in precept and exemplified it in his life. With him it is not brute courage, but the bravery of the philosopher who knows the right and dares to do it. He has nothing to say of courage in war, and Mencius's, conception of the virtue finds its highest illustration in the minister who fearlessly reproves his sovereign. Again, the maxims are taken over into Japan, and there exert a profound influence,[1] but the conditions prevail over the doctrine, and martial courage takes first place. So the boy was trained to endure physical suffering, to go hungry, to visit fearsome forests at midnight, to wear slight clothing in winter, to endure cold and privation, and, in general, to despise luxury and even comfort which belonged to merchants and other humble folks, while the samurai was to be fit for high duty.[2] How far the duty, insensibility to death, and readiness to undergo its pains might be carried is illustrated in the story told by a philosopher of high repute:

"In the olden time Sekko fancied dragons, painted them, and spent days and nights in loving them. A

[1] T. A. S., xx., pt. i., pp. 98 *ff.*
[2] *Bushido*, pp. 30 *ff.*

real dragon heard of it and thought, if he is so devoted to painted dragons, if I visit him how he will love me! So straightway he put his head through the window, but Sekko fled panic-struck!

"Among scholars of the East and the West are some true men, but most of them are proud and vain, desirous only of reputation and applause while professing to love the Sages. Should they meet a living Sage they could not look him in the face. Their daily admiration is like Sekko's devotion to dragons. Learning without the practice of virtue is like swimming in a field. In illustration of my meaning I will tell you a story of thirty years ago.

"In Kaga I had a friend, a samurai of low rank, named Sugimoto. While absent in Adzuma with his lord his son Kujuro, who was fifteen years old, quarrelled with a neighbour's son of the same age over a game of *go*, lost his self-control, and before he could be seized drew his sword and cut the boy down. While the wounded boy was under the surgeon's care Kujuro was in custody, but he showed no fear and his words and acts were calm beyond his years. After some days the boy died and Kujuro was condemned to *hara-kiri*. The officer in charge gave him a farewell feast the night before he died. He calmly wrote his mother, took ceremonious farewell of his keeper and all in the house, and then said to the guests: 'I regret to leave you all and should like to stay and talk till daybreak; but I must not be sleepy when I commit *hara-kiri* tomorrow, so I'll go to bed at once. Do you stay at your ease and drink the wine.' So he went to his room and fell asleep, all being filled with admiration as they heard him snore. On the morrow he arose early, bathed,

dressed himself with care, made all his preparations with perfect calmness, and then, quiet and composed, killed himself. No old, trained, self-possessed samurai could have excelled him. No one who saw it could speak of it for years without tears.

"At the beginning of the affair I wrote to his father: 'Though Kujuro commit *hara-kiri* he is so calm and collected there need be no regret. Be at peace.' But as Sugimoto read the letter he remarked: 'A child often will be brave enough as others encourage it before the moxa is applied, and yet burst into tears when it feels the heat. My child is so young that I cannot be at peace until I hear that he has done the deed with bravery.' As the proverb says: 'Only such fathers have such sons.' I have told you this that Kujuro may be remembered. It would be shameful were it to be forgotten that so young a boy performed such a deed.

"But there is another reason also. Were I and all who study the words and mimic the actions of the ancient Sages to meet a living one different from our notions, we should be like the child who cries as he feels the moxa applied. Surely it were shameful to study for years, attain the name of a philosopher, and yet be less brave than this child Kujuro.

"Therefore examine yourselves with the thought."[1]

The transformation of Confucian ethics could not well be more complete.

In another fashion the same courage is illustrated in the statesman Arai Hakuseki, who as adviser of the

[1] T. A. S., xx., pt. i., pp. 40 *ff.*; *cf.* also *Bushido*, pp. 120 *ff.*

Shogun carried his point by his fierce resolve to slay his opponent and himself if he were defeated.[1] Such readiness to slay oneself was tempered, it is true, with courtesy and mercy, for, notwithstanding many similarities to Spartan training and to Stoic ideals, the Japanese are moved readily by appeals to the emotions.

Confucius has nothing to say of the duties of husband and wife, and the later writers supply the deficiency only in part. Woman exists for the family, and when her great function is performed and she furnishes an heir she is held in honour. It is as mother that she is venerated. For the rest she ranks with the inferior part of creation, and her great duty is unhesitating obedience to her incarnate "Heaven," father, elder brother, or husband.[2] She has no control over soul and body, and in full sense is subject to man who rules over her. In Japan this too took on a martial tinge in the representative family. The woman merged herself in family and in clan. She did not desire to survive its misfortunes, nor could she think of an individual destiny. She participated in a feminine way in the samurai training, and there are many stories of her unhesitating

[1] T. A. S., xxx., pt. ii., p. 156.

[2] *Op., cit.*, p. 195. "A woman is never independent, but owes duties: when unmarried, to her father; when married, to her husband; and when widowed, to her son. The father is the child's Heaven and the husband is the wife's."

self-devotion. On occasion she could destroy herself with the composure of her soldier husband. But her charm was in retiracy and self-effacement. The women of the Court, it is true, knew how to influence the Government and to defeat the schemes of the highest statesman,[1] but this was exceptional. In woman, as ever, the ethical ideal found most complete embodiment. Living a life of privacy without concern in the activities of life, she lost herself in others, and was characterised by the refinement which belongs to gentleness, self-effacement, and a careful training in feminine accomplishments.[2]

She thus became a model of "propriety," which ranks among the greater virtues. In Japan this was carried to high perfection, for the people have a genius for organisation and for minute detail. The cut of a garment, the colour of a girdle, the ornaments of a sword, the choice of words in spoken or written address, assumed portentous importance. But so thorough was the training that obedience to etiquette became a second nature, neither burdensome nor perplexing. Essentially feminine as we esteem this extreme regard for the minutiæ of conduct, it was carried to its extreme in Japan not by the women but by the men.[3]

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 192. [2] *Bushido*, chap. xiv.
[3] T. A. S., xxx., pt. ii., pp. 152 *ff.*

Among the "inferior classes"—that is, ninety-five per cent. of the population—the Confucian teaching did not affect materially the relation of the sexes, save as it emphasised the necessity for woman's obedience. As we have seen, the classical teachings of Shinto do not distinguish between wife and concubine, and in popular literature faithfulness was exacted from the mistress as from the wife. Nor did Buddhism insist on chastity. It indeed commended the monastic life, but it condemned the sexual passions only as all others, and put no special emphasis on self-restraint in this particular. To the people in general this relation was natural and to be gratified like other desires. The late development of the family also in a negative way left the sexes free. Only the woman was to consider herself the property of some man—father, brother, husband, and to hold nothing sacred in herself, an over-emphasis which has had sad results, which constitute the most serious blemish on Japan's fair name.

It is evident that Japan, on the whole, repeated the story of feudal Europe. There was the same relative subordination of woman, the same exaltation of military prowess, the same insistence upon the rights of the superior, and the same disregard of commercial ethics. Nor was Confucianism more efficient than was Christianity in changing the structure of society.

Affect it it did, giving new ideals, and producing large and lasting effects. But in our analysis it was the feudal system and not Confucianism which constituted the actual code of morals. In China learning is in the supreme place, with the written word as sacred symbol. The scholar takes precedence of the man of wealth, and the soldier is held in contempt. But in Japan, though Confucius was held to be the infallible Master, though his tablet was worshipped in the great schools, and though his words were final authority, yet the samurai were not his offspring. The sword was their symbol, and the spirit of feudal Japan, with war as chief occupation and death as supreme sacrament, triumphed over the doctrine of him whom the lips honoured as lord.

Such compromise is characteristic of systems as of men. It is not given to all to perceive the contradiction between professions and conduct, nor between simultaneously held beliefs, so that men may deny in life what they sincerely believe in creed, and accept in ethics that which they condemn in dogma. Thus in the beginning did Buddhism compromise with the ancient cosmical theories, and also make room for the common activities. We have traced the results of these compromises, and we have noted that men were able to accept Buddhism as religion and Confucianism as guide to the practical duties of life. Ingenious

exegesis, special pleading, careful reconciliations, and the maxim that the extreme teachings are counsels of perfection, not to be taken seriously in the present evil world, go far to satisfy even the critical and the doubting. But such reasoning satisfies only in part, and there may come a time when the ideals of the two teachings are seen to be contradictory, and when the alliance must be broken up. So was it with the alliance between Buddhism and Confucianism, at first in China and later in Japan.

Buddhism teaches that the world is evil, that all things pass away, excepting only *karma*, and that misery is inseparable from existence. Confucianism teaches that nature is essentially good, and that the natural relationships are types of eternal realities. Change there is, but it is only like the mist which gathers on the surface of the mirror, leaving its substance unimpaired. Evil, too, there is, not of nature, but against nature; it is confusion, the interruptions of our ordinary relationships, the abnormal, the unusual.[1] It is to be remedied, and our salvation is in a return to propriety—that is, to the established laws. The good man stands in his lot which is ordained by Heaven, performs its duties, and if need be fights the good fight. Thus he at once fulfils his destiny, and finds himself, his true self, which is nothing

[1] T. A. S., xx., pt. i., p. 22.

else than his place in the organism. Flee the world he may, indeed, but only as the sign that the times are out of joint and that it is impossible to set them right.

Now it is evident that in all this Confucianism contradicts Buddhism in its essential teaching. The contradiction was obscured because the system, as brought to China, no longer magnified the doctrine of its founder, but substituted for his words the traditions and speculations of other men. It gained wide currency precisely because it supplied other needs than those to which he ministered. Confucianism, as we shall see in the next lecture, had its own religious elements and worshipped "Heaven," but as its Master declared, "Heaven is too cold and distant, therefore they [the common people] turn to gods and demons." In his time and later his doctrines by no means had the field to themselves, and from the introduction of Buddhism, with its immediate appeal to the religious nature, Chinamen found it possible to be enthusiastic followers simultaneously of both systems. But in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era a group of schoolmen arose who supplied to Confucianism elements which it had lacked, transforming it into a thorough-going system of metaphysical religion, and with this accomplished they broke decisively and finally with the Indian faith, the polemic being on

moral grounds, for now at last the contradiction was perceived.[1]

To Confucius, as we have seen, virtue is found only in the human relationships, and outside of them it has no meaning. To be father, son, husband, friend, subject or prince, and to perform one's rightful duties is the task set before us. To succeed is life and joy and peace, to fail is destruction. The founder of Buddhism forsook parents, wife, child, and empire in the search for salvation. This was to wander on the mountain side without guide or light, and can be excused only on the ground of ignorance. The contradiction is thus set forth:

"Question—Confucianism insists that we be rid of self and lust. Must we not forsake the world in order to attain purity?

"Answer—An opinion derived from one-sided Buddhism. Buddha forsook his empire and became a hermit. He did not fully know the truth. To the Confucianists such asceticism is the act of a madman. Every man is to follow the way with unshaken heart in the position to which he is born. Indeed, to forsake rank may be the result of selfishness. To retain and to forsake may be alike evil. The wise man looks with unconcern on all. Wealth, poverty, life, death, rank, no rank—all are alike to him. He cares only to obey the way and do his duty. Lust is disobedience, not the forsaking or possessing anything. Obedience

[1] *Cf.*, T. A. S., xx., pt. i., pp. 5 *ff.*

**is virtue and truth. Be obedient, and wealth and power are virtues. Be disobedient, and the hermit's life is sinful. Why is a palace polluting or a cell ennobling. What virtue is there in the ascetic's garb, and what condemnation in silken robes? We must look deeper than this; goodness and vice are in the motives and not in the things. To think certain acts virtuous is the error of the ignorant and heretical."** [1]

Buddha was born in a barbarous land, in a time of darkness. Doubtless his intentions were good but his ignorance was great. His followers participated in his ignorance and lacked his good purpose. Hence Buddhism has become a false guide, a blind leader of men, and it is to be fled as the voice of the charmer; for it identified religion with flight from the world, and men are exhorted in its name to forsake parents, wife, child, and station. It is not surprising that the facts are as evil as the theory, so that the monasteries are the seat of depravity. What else can be expected? For when man's natural passions are denied their legitimate gratification, the indulgence of unnatural vice results. So far have the Buddhists gone that in utter degradation they teach that a man who violates the natural relationships may be saved by "faith," and that even the slayer of a parent may go to heaven through "the power of another." This is indeed to put good for evil and evil for good, light for darkness

[1] *Okina Mondo*, vol. iv., pp. 1–13.

and darkness for light, so far is the system able to mislead.[1] For men come to regard the worship of the Buddhas as the chief thing, and are overwhelmed with fear and remorse if they deface an image while they permit themselves unworthy and brutish indulgences.[2] The very literature of the religion is vile, comparing with the Confucian classics as charcoal to snow.[3]

With the adoption of the Buddhistic principle, fundamental truth disappears, for if all things change so must the "Way" of the Sages. With its disappearance man will sink until his distinctive nature is lost and he cannot be distinguished from the brutes. Hence men come to despise the "five relationships" with their "five duties," and to depend upon prayers and rites and charms. Priests deceive the common people for their own ends, and fleeing the world are more worldly than before. In short, Buddhism would destroy at once the family and the state.[4] It sees the evil in the world and its remedy is Flight; while Confucianism, seeing the evils, commands: Stand in your place and fight! He who thus fights has with him the powers of Heaven and of earth, for the good is mighty and shall prevail.

[1] *Okina Mondo*, vol. iv., pp. 1–13.
[2] T. A. S., xx., pt. i., p. 121.
[3] p. 120.
[4] pp. 68-71.

This polemic against Buddhism won. Buddhism became a system of funeral rites for samurai, and it was left to the ignorant and the lowly as a religion. Samurai were still enrolled as parishioners, but they looked upon the priests with contempt and did not take the trouble to understand the teaching they forsook. Hence, when Japan was once more made accessible to foreigners, outside of the priesthood it was difficult to find an educated man who professed to know anything of the established religion. Thus was the separation between gentleman and commoner made complete—in legal rights, in hereditary position, in ethical ideals, and finally in religion. Between the two was a great gulf fixed which none could pass over, and the national development reached a temporary end.

One attempt it is true was made to make the higher teaching the common property of the people. A group of teachers went from town to town and established permanent centres in the large cities. A doctrine based upon essential human nature was set forth, which exalted the "true heart" of man and bade obedience to it. Essentially the conceptions are those of later Confucianism, though Buddhist phrases so abound that the school is often described as Buddhistic. But the Buddhist doctrines are caricatured and denied, while the terms are retained. The most telling criticisms

are put in the mouths of priests, who are represented as giving the essential doctrine and casting aside the husk. While hell and heaven are mentioned, it is made apparent that sorrow and happiness are within us and not of external circumstances. The exaltation of the world to come and of the religious life is only a device by means of which the founders of the sects entice men to virtue, while men and women who take the doctrines at their face values and suppose that the earthly relationships may be ignored, misunderstand the purpose and substitute form for substance. At their heart all religions are one, and their teachings one,—conduct is all of life. Just because this present world is so fleeting we must use it nobly.[1]

But the teaching had little influence, in part perhaps because the preachers themselves were not of the stuff of which prophets and martyrs are made. They appealed to the sense of humour in their hearers and they were not overnice in their choice of illustrations. They found ridicule the most potent argument and hence though strong to pull down, they were unable to put strong motives in the place of that which was destroyed. After a generation or two the school ceased to attract hearers, and finally vanished, leaving behind a few

[1] Various translations of these sermons have been made—in Mitford's *Tales of Old Japan*, in my *Japanese Life in Town and Country*, in the *Chrysanthemum*, etc.

volumes of sermons which are models of a preaching style so be it the preacher is without a message of life and death. With this the development of the Chinese ethical teaching came to an end, for Japan was no longer to remain isolated, but was to come under the influence once more of foreign thought, not now of China and India, but of Europe and the United States.

## LECTURE VI.

## Confucianism as a World System.

## Ethical Religion.

BOTH in China and in Japan the separation between religion and ethics seemed complete. Shinto, as formulated in the eighth century, is without an ethical code, and Buddhism supplied only rules for men who chose the religious life. Confucianism therefore was the system which made rules at once for the polity of the state and for the order of society. This separation between religion and ethics is represented in Chinese by the ordinary native classification. Thus Taoism, Buddhism, and, of later years, Christianity are put in one class, and Confucianism in another, a division which commends itself not only to the Chinese scholars but also to foreigners.[1] In Japan Shinto has patriotism for its substance, furnishing the motive power to the national ethics; and Buddhism, in the *Shin* sect, has found a way through the doctrine of faith for the thorough-going adoption of the Chinese teaching of the

[1] Cf. *The World's Parliament of Religions*, i., pp. 375–380.

five relations. Yet here too, evidently, the distinction between religion and ethics is clearly developed.

From this point of view religion has to do with our relationships with the unseen world, with spirits, with gods and with Heaven. Worship is its chief attribute, and ethics finds a place in religion only in a subordinate capacity. Ethics may be regarded, indeed, as the code set forth by invisible powers for the government of their realm, as a set of rules let down out of the supernatural world into the natural world, to be disobeyed only under the penalty of a divine punishment, ritual obedience being as important or more important than moral rectitude. Yet even so the separation between religion and ethics is still made, the supreme duty being owed to God, and only a secondary duty to man. Judged now by such a standard, Confucianism is not a religion. Its ethics is not the code promulgated by a supreme deity, nor are its moral sanctions in the punishments and rewards of a future life. Worship is not placed first and there is no duty towards God recognised. Confucianism indeed recognises a supreme ruler, *Shang-ti*. The Emperor worships him with the offerings of spring and autumn, but beyond this he has no part in the system. Confucius refers to him only in a single passage and that by reference to an ancient system without deduction or command of any kind. Certain of our modern scholars, on what seems

to us the smallest evidence, assert that the Chinese were originally monotheistic, and that Confucius fell away from this earlier and purer faith.[1] But, however that may be, it is certain that Confucius himself was not a worshipper of God as creator and ruler of the universe. The greatest commentator on Confucius, Chu Hi, expressly denies the existence of a supreme ruler in the sense of a heavenly emperor, with ministers of the left and right in association with himself.

As thus Confucius refers to Shang-ti without denying his existence or inculcating his worship, so also he accepts the prevalent belief in deities and demons. As in antiquity he found precedents, he tells his disciples that deities and demons are to be worshipped but that they are to be kept at a distance.[2] His attitude was not that of an agnostic, but of the man who, knowing a higher and greater truth, is indifferent to the less. For the followers of Confucius, man is greater than the gods or demons; or, if he be not greater, he at least is independent of them, as they are unable to conquer his determined mind.[3] For

[1] The statement in the text is not strong enough—the notion of an original monotheism in China seems to be against all the evidence we possess. The desire to support this notion makes the chief blemish in the very excellent translations by Legge. One can never trust his use of the English words "spirit" and "god."

[2] *Vide* Faber, *Doctrines of Confucius*, p. 47.

[3] T. A. S., xx., i., pp. 57–60.

Confucius, nature is the supreme being, not possessed by a spirit nor originated and ruled over by a god, but in and of itself possessing powers and values.

The followers of Confucius in Japan, true to the essential teaching of their great Master, recognise rites and ceremonies and prayers and all forms of priestly interposition as superstitious. "When punished by Heaven," said Confucius, "there is no place for prayers,"[1] and a great representative of Confucianism in Japan teaches us with the utmost frankness that it is only righteousness, and humanity, and truth which appeal to Heaven and win success.[2] At the most, Confucian worship is an act of grateful remembrance and service. The bowing before the tablet of the Sage involves no more than the lifting of the hat as we stand before a tomb of a hero of the past. To call this reverence by the term which we use for the worship of the Supreme Deity is to confound things which essentially differ.

Confucius taught and very greatly promoted the worship of ancestors, his own practice illustrating his doctrine. This is indeed the very centre of the religion of the multitudes in China, but, none the less, regarding the immortality of the soul, Confucius's

[1] Analects, iii., 13.
[2] T. A. S., xx., pt. i., pp. 63–68.

teaching is negative. In response to a direct question by his pupils he made the well known response: "We do not yet know life, how then can we know death?"[1] And on another occasion he told them that he was unwilling to commit himself, for were people to believe their ancestors were consciously intelligent, the living would be neglectful of the worship of the dead; while on the other hand, were the dead to be thought unconscious, the living would no longer make offerings to them.[2]

This negative attitude has characterised his followers save that they have been in some instances more decided in denying conscious immortality than was the Master. To Chu Hi conscious existence after death is an absurdity inconsistent with all that is known of man's nature.[3] In any case, as already indicated, it is clear that the Confucian ethics do not rest upon the belief in an immortality, for it is far easier to argue that the destinies of the dead depend upon the living than to prove that the converse is taught in the Confucian books. Were we to suppose ourselves conscious after death, then we should believe that our destiny in the spiritual world is decided not by deeds done in the body but by the conduct of our descendants in all the

[1] Analects, xi., 11.
[2] Quoted in Legge's *Chinese Classics*, i., p. 99.
[3] T. A. S., xx., pt. i., p. 23. Note 49.

generations to come.[1] It was left to Buddhism to set forth in vivid colours the terrors of a judgment day and to invoke the powers of fear and hope as inducements to a religious life.

Surely it is not surprising that Confucianism has been termed non-religious. Without a Creator, with only a reference to a Supreme Ruler; without a doctrine of heaven, hell, or immortality; without a conception of sin against God; without a felt need for rites, ceremonies, sacraments, hymns, prayers, and priests; without even so much as a cosmology or a mythology or an ontology, it seems devoid of all contents and characteristics to which the term religious belongs.

Yet none the less Confucianism is a religion. It is not a collection of rules nor a mere system of ethics. If by ethics we mean in this connection the recognition of the rules of the social life, as something formed, let us say, by mutual consent, as in the theory of Hobbes, or imposed upon men by the arbitrary will of a despot, or even by the action of the majority of the people; or if we mean by ethics something which, thus formed through the will of men, may be amended or re-

[1] Thus Faber, *Sys. Digest.*, pp. 50–51. But he is mistaken in describing the scheme as "immoral." To conceive of the dead as dependent upon the living may furnish a sanction as potent as in the teaching that they suffer the penalty of their own deeds. It is further to be noted that Confucianism does not support the contention of those who suppose that ethics is dependent on *post-mortem* sanctions.

scinded or changed, then emphatically Confucianism is not a system of ethics. It does not thus conceive man in his relationship to men and nature. Nor is it concerned with the visible world after all as the chief and eternal sphere. Behind the world it too places the super-world; yet not as distinct from the world, but manifested in and through it. The real world is like the blue sky which remains unchanged though the storm-clouds completely cover its face. Let the mists and storms disappear and heaven remains unchanging as before. So too has heaven the same relationship to all, without distinction of great or small, of near or distant, of high or low. Go whither we may, its arch is still above us; do as we will, it still looks down upon us. It is far beyond our reach: would we injure it, we cannot; would we cause it pain, we cannot; would we benefit or help it, we cannot. As thus heaven bounds the visible world, so does the spiritual Heaven bound and fill all things, visible and invisible, material, mental: earth, sky, heavenly bodies, animals, birds, plants, men.[1] These are all upon the surface of that unchanging and infinite and eternal Power which is not ourselves, and yet constitutes the very essence of our being. From this essential being, the spiritual Heaven, every trace of the physical shall be removed. It may be described best by negatives. It is not a God—that

[1] T. A. S., xx., pt. ii., Ri, Ki, and Ten.

is, an individual like a man ; it is not material, it is not dynamic, it is not like our passions, nor like our knowledge, nor like our spirit or mind or soul; it cannot be described in terms of cause and effect ; it preceded even the negative and positive principles by whose interaction the universe has been formed. Formless, from it has come all form ; powerless, from it has come all power; it remains through all change changeless, and yet is norm and governor of all. This supreme, which we cannot yet call object, nameless and adjectiveless, may yet best be described by that which stirs in the soul of man as righteousness.[1] Righteousness is its essence, and as it develops it reveals itself in the five virtues, practised in the five relationships. Its true nature is to be discovered only in the period of perfect development, when it is embodied in the phenomenal world, in the well ordered state, the well ordered family, and the well ordered life. Hence ethics, far from being ephemeral or of the will of man, is the best conceivable expression of the inner nature of the universe itself. It is deepest in ourselves and constitutes our own truest being.

We have therefore the two great elements of that fashion of religion called by Tiele "theanthropic."[2] Freed completely from all theocratic elements, in no

[1] *Okina Mondo, passim. Cf.* T. A. S., xx., pt. i., pp. 14, 50–52.
[2] *Elements of the Science of Religion, sub voce.*

wise corresponding to the forms of supernatural religion which are dependent upon the sensuous imagination, it is a clear representative of that class which conceives of the supreme as immanent, and of salvation as the recognition of the unity of the infinite with the self. All religion may be well brought under these two great divisions: the religion of men who conceive of God, themselves, and the world as distinct and separate, with an intercourse between God and man which may culminate in an admittance to the very presence of God himself, seated upon his throne; and the religion of men who conceive of God under the forms of thought as an all-embracing Infinite or Absolute in which all things live and move and have their being, and in which we find salvation as we come to recognise that our essential being is not in our changing *ego* of present consciousness, but is in our unity with the universal *It*.

These two types of religion may be divided in another way, with a classification that cuts across both. For example, we may have in the theocratic religion the conception of a God in whom power is supreme, and who chiefly desires from his worshippers, through sacrifice, praise, and prayer, the recognition of his overwhelming might. With him service of our fellow men is acceptable only because it is rendered consciously as the doing of his will. Or we may have the

conception of God as the ruler of supreme righteousness, who desires from his people not sacrifice nor praise, but purity in the inward parts, and a ministering life to fellow men. So likewise in religions of the theanthropic type, the thought of the Infinite may centre in pure being, substance, essence, or power, and salvation may be obtained through meditation, contemplation, asceticism, or metaphysical abstraction; or, on the contrary, this all-embracing Supreme, the object of our reverence, may be set forth not in terms of metaphysics but in those of ethics.[1] In Confucianism we have such an ethical religion of the theanthropic type. In it there are at once veneration, worship, dependence, service, and salvation. Yet the invisible on which the visible depends is not something abstract but embodied, and the worship is not formal but practical. The holy man is an incarnation of righteousness in the service of humanity.

As in all theanthropic religions, so with the Confucianists study and reflection hold large place. It is true that the way of righteousness is not apart from the ignorant and humble; though they know not the truth yet they may practise it, but in its fulness there is salvation only for him who both knows and acts.[2] Yet

[1] In the great religions these distinctions cross and recross back and forth with confusing results.

[2] T. A. S., xx., i., p. 72: "Only as we truly know it (the Way) can we truly do it. Otherwise even with practice we do not

vain is learning for the man whose knowledge is merely theoretical. To know a multitude of books and yet not to embody the truth in life is to be a learned fool, a student merely of the eye and ear, a dealer in verbal refinements, a man who prates much of the Sages but could never recognise one in life.[1] To know truth is to know it primarily in ourselves, never as something apart from us, for the temple of God is the heart of man.[2] There is no such thing as true study apart from life, nor is it possible for a man to say that he has no time for investigating and for this study, for learning is precisely a matter of every-day life. If we do not know this, we do not know at all as we ought to know. As we know the taste of wine by tasting it, and the colours of the spectrum by seeing them, and the sounds of the musical scale by hearing them, so do we know the five relationships as we exercise the five virtues in the actual life of man.[3] There is nothing apart from it, but Heaven covers all and embraces all,

know, and even in doing it we find no profit." And p. 52: "Examine yourselves, make the truth of the heart the foundation, increase in learning, and at last you will attain." Confucianism in this form has its thorough-going ontology; but, after all, the heart of it is righteousness. *Cf.* My article in the *American Journal of Theology*, "The Orthodox Philosophy of the Chinese," vol. vii., no. 1.

[1] T. A. S., xx., i., pp. 36–40–44.

[2] P. 52.

[3] P. 61, 43.

and when once it is recognised and our place in it is known, then there comes to the soul perfect peace; rising up, lying down, sleeping, waking, toiling, playing, living, dying, all is well.[1] The outward circumstances of life, like the inward hopes and fears, our transient disappointments and successes, our loves and our hates, are all embodied within this truth; and when we are in harmony with it nothing can henceforth disturb us. This is all which is meant by paradise, and salvation, and escape from hell, which are symbols of the priest who appeals to the ignorant, but they have no place in the relations of the man of purity and thought.

As we take this Confucian system, thus set forth, and compare it with the sayings of Confucius, it is plain that much has been read into his words. He, indeed, regards Heaven as Providence and virtue as the essential nature of man. He is confident of his own destiny because it has been shaped by Heaven. "Heaven," he says, "is to use Confucius as an alarm bell"[2]—that is, to arouse the sinners to repentance. And when his disciples would dissuade him from an errand involving danger, he will not listen to them, confident in the protection of Heaven.[3] He also feels that Heaven afflicts him in the death of his well-

[1] T. A. S., xx., i., p. 71.
[2] Analects, iii., 24.
[3] Analects, ix., 5.

beloved disciple, and he cries, "Heaven is destroying me!"[1] It is plain that Confucius lived in a world instinct with righteousness, which responded to the righteousness in his own soul, and which brought affliction upon sinners. Both he and Mencius teach that when there are calamities in the empire the rulers are to examine themselves, and in later Confucianism this element is brought into great prominence. Just as the parent feels the misdeeds of his son, and as the sorrow in the parent's heart may cause disease in his body, so is it with our great parent the Heaven and the earth. When men are rebellious and guilty, the Heaven responds in sorrow, and earthquakes, shooting-stars, comets, eclipses, unnatural rain, and drought manifest its suffering. Heaven is not a dead, unfeeling thing, and it is the dread of such false belief which causes a protest against Western science. The scholars of the West are wise indeed in measurements and outward appearances, but they do not know the heart of Heaven. They are like children who would measure the features of a parent's face, but cannot understand the parent's mind. The reverent soul is ever mindful of the unseen, and stands in awe before it, and worships in its presence, and listens for the indication of its will.[2]

[1] Analects, xi., 8.

[2] Thus a Japanese writer. T. A. S., xx., i., p. 168.

Surely the men who stood thus reverent, worshipful, and obedient in the presence of a nature whose essence is righteousness and whose Heaven is a Providence instinct with feeling, cannot be denied the term religious. We greatly mistake if we suppose that a mere system of ethical rules has satisfied the religious natures of the scholars of the Far East for the last thousand years. For this system here described has been predominant in China since the twelfth century of our era, and, introduced into Japan in the seventeenth century, it quickly made conquest of the intellect of the nation. Within this system there were varying schools, varying as to the ontology and the interpretations of the Master, but all agreeing in this, that righteousness is supreme and that conduct constitutes all of life.

This interpretation of Confucius was the established orthodox doctrine in Japan during the Tokugawa period. It was taught in the great schools and other systems were forbidden. Thus it became the accepted training for gentlemen. Rivalling it in influence, however, was a thoroughly idealistic system taught in the first place by a writer of the seventeenth century, the so-called *Omi Seijin*. He insists upon the intuitions of the mind as the source of knowledge. This comes to us not from the world around us, nor from books, but from our own souls. The very essence of truth is

the knowledge that I am one with the universe and the gods. Clearly perceiving this truth and acting in accordance with it is obedience to the Way. Such obedience is like the great sea, and the various relations to our fellows are like vessels with which we dip out the water; big or small, round or square, so the water shapes itself, but it is all alike the water of the great sea. This Way dwells in the universe as the spirit dwells in man. It has no beginning nor end. There is neither time nor being without it, and man is its image. For him the Way is the pivot of his existence. The learning of the Sages indeed may bring this intuitive knowledge into consciousness, but their intuitions after all are not other than our own.[1] For truth is in all with only distinctions which are immaterial. It is like the great highway where there are men and women, old and young, weak and strong, not indeed of equal strength, but on the same path and travelling to the same goal. The clear perception of this Way includes all blessedness. It is long life and wealth and peace, for if the heart be at rest, outward circumstances matter not. An evil heart includes all curses. Even without outward sorrow there is no peace, and all sights and sounds are painful.

[1] One of the chief differences is this—the orthodox school lays greater stress upon "learning," as it exalts the authority of the sacred books.

Learning is disregard of self, obedience to the Way, and the observance of the five relations. Its eyeball is humility. False learning is proud, envious, self-seeking. It has nothing to do with obedience, so that the more one has the worse he is; whereas humble folk, who obey but cannot read, are learned with the heart reading which conforms to the heart of the Sages. Man's true self is far beneath his changing self of act and thought and desire and will. Let this deeper self be nourished, and there shall be no failure, and at death man returns to the all-pervading spirit as the vapour in the sky melts away, as a drop mingles with the sea, as fire disappears in fire.

This religion in both schools tended to quietism. Not only was the deeper self recognised as far beneath all conscious activity, nourished in quietness and in darkness, but, influenced by the Zen sect, much was made of meditation and contemplation. No great purpose animated its followers. There was no vision of a kingdom of God to be established here on earth. Confucianism forever directed its gaze to the past, and the most it could recommend was a return to propriety. Hence it brought forth no ideals of liberty or of progress, and if even an approximation to the old golden age of Yao and Shun could not be attained, there was an explanation in the decrees of fate.

The charm of the system was in its world view. As

in Hinduism and in other thorough-going philosophical systems, after long study a point is reached whence the universe is seen evolving according to a single principle. Almost nothing has greater fascination for the intellect than this. When now such a view can lead the individual to trust and to the recognition that his own true self is one with the universal principle, and that all differences and distinctions are relatively illusory, he finds a peace which is deep and abiding.

But such attainment is indeed difficult. In these systems it is much easier to be orthodox in doctrine than in spirit. Hence there are constant complaints of multitudes of scholars who are merely learned in the outward appearances, but who have never submitted themselves to the fundamental truth. Besides, the profounder the principle the more difficult it is to attain agreement concerning it. Discussion becomes more and more refined and the points at issue more and more intangible. By and by there arise men who reject the principle itself in the interests of the practical life. So was it in Confucianism.

"The Way of the Sages is readily understood and easily followed and obeyed. Hence it is thoroughly obeyed, and brings forth great virtues, and there are many who follow it. So Mencius compared it to the great highway and said: 'It is not difficult to understand it, and I grieve that men go not therein.' But the later scholars introduced their discussions, making

it difficult, too high, too distant, hard to be understood and obeyed. In this they differed from the original teaching of Confucius and Mencius.

"With the Sages filial obedience, reverence, loyalty, and truth were the foundation, and learning was secondary. Their easy method was like the highway, even the fool might readily know and follow it. Thus is there progress and a gradual advance toward perfection. But the philosophers of the Sung dynasty, with their 'limitless and great limit,' put progress in knowledge as the first thing, and made the purification of the heart through contemplation the foundation of right conduct, and set forth fine, complicated literary discussions as the foundation of learning. This is what I mean by 'too high and too distant and too difficult.' This is to put that which is useless and difficult before the virtues. It is too profound, too minute in analysis, and in the end misses the plain and chief meaning. In this philosophy differs from the Way of the Sages."[1]

Moreover, Confucianism in this developed system was no doubt indebted to both Buddhism and Taoism, and the criticism which describes it as departing from the Way of the Sages is justified. A whole school arose which charged the philosophers of the eleventh century with substituting alien systems for fundamental truth. The watchword of this new school was Back to Confucius! They would discriminate his teaching even from the words of Mencius, and of the

[1] T. A. S., xx., i., pp. 174–175.

great commentators, still more from the doctrines of the alien faiths.[1] Though these critics were never given positions in the schools, yet their words were not without effect, so that when modern learning at the time of the Reformation was introduced into Japan and freedom of thought and expression was given to the learned world, it appeared that the "Way of the Learned Men"—that is to say, the orthodox doctrine—had few sincere followers remaining.

Religion of this type appeals, as we have seen, to the few. Exalted as it is, and profound as is the truth which it inculcates, it forms no organisation and is unable therefore to maintain itself. For religion as for man's other activities organisation is essential. Thus before the Buddhist Church the unorganised Shinto faith could not stand. Even when the Buddhist doctrine had lost its vitality, the organisation carried the teaching with itself. First therefore was doctrine; then second, it was embodied in the organisation; and third, the organisation carried the doctrine from which it had sprung, like the hero bearing his decrepit parent from the flames. Such an ecclesiastical organisation holds fast its formulæ. The interests of association, the sacredness of worshipping memories, the power of property, unite in maintaining forms and teachings which have long since lost their vital power.

[1] T. A. S., xx., i., pp. 170–171.

But in Confucianism, when the philosophy of the Chinese scholastics was ignored in the schools, no organisation remained and it perished, leaving "not a wrack behind."

In these lectures from time to time mention has been made of ancestor worship. As we have seen, it was not original with the Japanese, having no place in early Shinto. Only by a strange inconsistency, properly speaking, can Buddhism admit it, for in Southern Buddhism there is no soul, and in Northern Buddhism the soul is absorbed in the Absolute. The good enter Nirvana, or the Absolute, or are fixed in the Western Paradise. It would be only the imperfect and evil who continue in connection with the living, and they perhaps in brutal or even devilish form. The incongruity of ancestor worship is apparent. In the teachings of Confucius also the problem of conscious immortality is left unsolved, yet the more ancient ancestor worship of the Chinese asserted itself and Confucius yielded willingly to its influence. The patriarchal form of society in China was well adapted for its preservation, since in the family are centred all the elements of the social life.

Transplanted into Japan, the forms of ancestor worship were adopted, but the substance was changed. The common people, it is true, can believe that on the anniversary of the dead the spirits of the departed are

present in a quasi-physical fashion, a belief not different from that of the peasantry in China. But apart from this superstition an important and beneficial influence has been exerted by ancestor worship. There is a firm reliance upon a transmitted virtue, the heroes and martyrs acting in the struggles of the living. Patriots feel themselves one with innumerable multitudes who have loyally lived and served. The feeling is perhaps rendered intelligible to us by the use of the familiar words of the St. James version of the Epistle to the Hebrews: "Wherefore, seeing we also are compassed about by so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us."[1] The philosopher, so frequently quoted in these pages, compares his oneness with the generations to the reflection of the moon on the face of the flowing water. As we look upon the moon and think of the things of old, we seem to see the reflection of the forms and faces of the past. Though it says not a word, yet it speaks; if we forget, it recalls the ages (see p. 185) gone by, for all the men of the past, the present, and the future are like the flowing water, and on them all the same eternal truth looks down.[2] The meaning of a spiritual ancestry

[1] Heb. xii., 1.
[2] T. A. S., xx., i., pp. 125–127.

he explains in another passage, where one of his disciples, lamenting the death of a noble woman, who slew herself and left no child, cried, "The heroic woman has no seed!" But he replies: "Not so, not having seed is still to have seed. Fidelity makes the nature of benevolence and righteousness its seed, and this is Heaven's Nature."[1] Thus the example of the hero begets heroes, and the family of heroes is preserved. To be childless in the body is to beget multitudes who are children of the spirit. This is the inner meaning of the Japanese worship of the dead, and of the ascription of victory to the virtues of the ancestors of the Imperial house.[2]

We have concluded our survey of religion in Japan. In the beginning the simple-hearted people, living in the present, were stirred to worship by the presence of the wonderful and the mysterious. In the tangible, the visible, and the audible, they discovered something intangible, invisible, and inaudible, which they had no words to express and no logic to define. By and by, as reason awoke, they attempted to narrate, to define, and to explain, but their explanations were meagre and their definitions inadequate. While still undeveloped, there was brought to them the civil-

[1] T. A. S., xx., i., pp. 103 *ff.*

[2] Thus in the past was victory ascribed to the virtues of the dead in China also, and in Japan to the ancestors of the House of Tokugawa. *Cf.* T. A. S., xxx., ii., iv.

isation of the continent, with its splendours, its philosophy, its science, and its religion. The people responded to this foreign influence, and found their own tiny world expanding vastly in time and space, while behind the visible world the unseen universe, after which they had dimly felt, seemed to stand forth in form and substance. The thought of India, changed in its long migrations through Thibet and China, became their own. The worship of rock and tree, and mountain and sun, and ocean and heaven, was absorbed in the worship of the Absolute and the Eternal. Their feelings of awe and dependence were heightened, and their religion took on loftier forms of worship and profounder modes of thought.

But this religion could not maintain itself in its purity. It exalted the supernature above nature, and the Absolute above the concrete. Nature reasserted herself, the world cast out came back again, and religion, glorified in its worship and in its forms, was debased in its substance. Only the meditative and contemplative elect, the very few, could appreciate its inner meaning. Hence its usage was adapted to the weak comprehension of the multitude in symbols and parables and allegories, which, disguised as truth, were employed for the education of the masses. Room was thus made for falsehood and superstition, and the admission of charms and debasing rites.

Meanwhile, earnest men, recognising the impossibility of salvation through the way of philosophical thought and religious asceticism and contemplation, found a means of salvation in faith. Through the original vow of the fabled Amitâbha and his fictitious Paradise in the West, an appeal was made to the religious instincts and aspirations of the multitude, so that Buddhism entered upon a new career of development and conquest.

In neither form did religion furnish the rules of conduct for the ordinary life. Simultaneously with the introduction of the Hindu faith, Confucianism was brought in to teach men how to live from day to day in their ordinary relationships. It proclaimed the great truth that each man was to stand in his lot and fulfil its duties. It exalted human nature and the life of every day, and declared that eternal righteousness could be found only in the particular and the concrete. By and by the fundamental contradiction between this system and Buddhism was discovered in China and thence imported into Japan. Henceforth the religion of gentlemen was to be the reformed Confucianism, while Buddhism was left for the comfort of the ignorant and lowly.

In Confucianism the religion of the Far East reached its highest point. Behind the temporal it was conscious of the Eternal. In the midst of change it could

find the changeless. All nature was bound together with a golden chain of life, and man in his spiritual and moral nature was its representative. Man's spirit answered to the great principle of the universe, "as the reflection in the quiet pool answers to the light of the moon."[1] This eternal, changeless principle, without name or definition, was not conceived as pure being or as substance, but it was described as righteousness. This at once constitutes the inner nature of man and the inner nature of the world in which man dwells. Itself forever the same, so that in the ages of the Sages it was intuitively perceived, it yet finds its application in every time and place. We are its incarnations, and where we recognise this truth and realise it in our own lives, we have everlasting peace. As the highest is righteousness, its realisation is not in contemplation nor its understanding through metaphysics. It is known in conduct, and its realisation is in the social relationships.

Thus did man in Japan pass through successive stages from the recognition of that which is immediately perceptible as the highest and noblest, to the apprehension of ideas conceived only by the mind as constituting the Absolute, and finally to the worship of benevolence, righteousness, and truth, made known

[1] T. A. S., xx., ii., p. 52.

to us through conscience, and realised in the family, in society, and the state.

What may be the future of religion in Japan one may not attempt to foretell. A group of young men sets forth the Asiatic ideal, and would find the future of Japan in a return to the worship of the Absolute.[1] Another group, more influential, set forth a glorified Bushido, the ethics of the gentleman, as the hope of salvation. Both schools recognise, however, that in the modern world the conditions do not obtain which made for these forms of religion in the past. A third group, holding fast to what they conceive as best in the religions of days gone by, seek to combine with it the noblest truth of our modern science, philosophy, and religion.[2] Certain it is that Japan henceforth will be chiefly under the influence of modern ways of thought and life. It will not return to India and to China, but it turns to Europe and the United States. As in the past it adopted and transformed the civilisation of Asia, so will it be with the new enlightenment. And of this new enlightenment Christianity is a part.

[1] This group is admirably represented in *The Ideals of the East*, by Kakuzo Okakura.

[2] *Bushido*, by Inazo Nitobe, is a fine specimen of this class. These two works idealise the past and describe a Japan which never existed in the fashion here set forth. But they are none the worse for that, for they reveal the dreams the young men dream—dreams to be realised some day in some better form than yet hath entered man's heart to conceive.

Its influence already stirs Japan, and the future is with it, but how changed by its new environment and how absorbed by the Japanese spirit, who can know? Yet this we know, that under its differing forms humanity still is one, and truth, which knows no race or place, remains the same.

Japan, China, India, Europe, how different has been the history of religion! And yet, as we trace its slow development in any one of these diverging lines, the words of the ancient Oriental sage haunt the memory:

> "As in water face answereth to face,
> So the heart of man to man."[1]

[1] Proverbs xxvii., 19.

# INDEX.


A

Absolute, Lecture III, 95 *sq.*, 114, 118, 119, 120, 178, 189, 192, 194, 195
Acvaghosha, 103, 112
Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-kami, 21
Ame-no-uzumi-no-Mikoto, 38
Ame-terasu-no-Mikoto, (See *Sun Goddess*).
Amida, or Amitabha, why believed in, 131 *sq.*; supplants Gautama, 134; becomes a god, 134
Ancestor worship (See also *Confucius* and *Confucianism*) 27, 31 note 2, 66–67, 173-175; described, 189-191
Arai, Hakuseki, 153, 157
Asakawa, K., xvi, 51 note
Asceticism, denied by Buddha, 114
Aston, W. G., xv, 20, 59

B

Bargains, with the gods, 37 note
Beasts, (speak like men), 18
Binzuru, 92
Birds, 18, 38
Books, sacred do not claim inspiration, 42, 81; Book of Changes, Shinto uses, 68
Brinkley, F., 81
Brinton, D. G., definition of "primitive" quoted, 11, 12
Buckley, E., 22
Buddha, Shinto gods his incarnation, 64, 84–97; temptation and attainment, 93 *sq.*; labours, 95–96; successive Buddhas, 97; the original Buddha, 97; is the Absolute, 97
Buddhism, (See Lectures III and IV.), characterised, 1–2; modified, 3–4; contrasted with Shinto, 80 *sq.*; contrasted with Confucianism, 161 *sq.*; sects (See *Sects*), introduced into Japan, 82; its struggles and victory, 82 *sq.*; its miracles, 84; causes of victory, 85 *sq.*; sustained by government, 83, 89, 115; its intellectual influence, 87, 89 *sq.*; primitive Buddhism, 90; Mahâyâna, Greater Vehicle. 91, 95, 96–101, 106, 112;

Buddhism—*Continued.*
Hînayâna, Lesser Vehicle, 91, 95, 96, 106; of the people, 92; its comprehensiveness, 98; divergencies and unity, 96 *sq.*, 102 *sq.*; its essential features, 102–103, 106, 133 *sq.*; its wealth and luxury, 115–116; its æstheticism; 115; its corruption, 116 *sq.*, its persecutions, 88, 117; disestablished, 118; missionary spirit, 118 *sq.*; ho-ben, 119–121; its future, 137; contradicted by Confucianism, 162 *sq.*; (See *Metaphysics*, *Sects*).
Bushido, 149, 154 note, 195 note

C

Chamberlain, Basil Hall, xv, 13, 61
Charms, 38
Centralisation, 46–47, 117
Chinese, enlightenment introduced into Japan, 47 *sq.*; its effect, 50 *sq.*, 83 *sq.*; theory of government, 51 *sq.*; influence in Kojiki, 54 *sq.*
Christianity, 195
Chu Hi, 68; denies creator, 172; denies conscious existence after death, 174
Confucianism, (See Lectures V. and VI.), characterised 3; modified, 3–4, 133, 140, 148 *sq.*; supplies polity and ethics, 138; China identified with the universe, 142; importance of learning, 142–143; man the object of learning, 143; ethics the chief study, 143; the Chinese Classics, 143; the Five Virtues, 144; the meaning of humanity, 144; meaning of righteousness, 145; man's relationship to nature, 146; the holy man, the Sage, 147; the Emperor 147; propriety, 148; introduced into Japan, 148, 149; its authority in Japan, 139, 161; its defects, 152 *sq.*; denies Buddhism, 162 *sq.*; destroys faith of Samurai in Buddhism, 167; seeks to popularise its doctrines, 167 *sq.*: not originally monotheistic, 172; no place for prayer, 173; meaning of Confucian worship, 173; question of immortality left undecided, 173–175; lacks various religious doctrines and rites, 175; its essentially religious character, 175 *sq.*; meaning of Heaven, 176 *sq.*, 181, 183; theanthropic, 177 *sq.*; importance of learning, 179 *sq.*; its religious experience, 180–181; its late idealistic interpretation, 183 *sq.*; quietism, 185; its

intellectual charm, 185–186; its opponents, 186 *sq.*; its weakness and decay, 188–189; a religion, 170–171, 183
Confucius, influence in China, 140; a transmitter, 141; interested in China only, 141; not a worshipper of Supreme God, 172; attitude toward deities and demons, 172; to him nature supreme, 173; worship of ancestors (See *Ancestor Worship*), 173, 174
Conquest, 46–47
Courage, Confucian conception of, 145; Japanese illustrations of, 150 *sq.*
Creation, primitive theories of, 21, 22; work of, 58 *sq.*
Creator, no mention of a, 26; taught by Nichiren, 136
Crimes, 16
Crocodile, or sea-monster, 18

D

Dai Nichi, 99, 120
Dances, 38
Death, 19–20
Demons, not different from gods or men, 18; one appears, 63 note
Dependence, 35
Development in religion, IV., 8–9
Divination, 41
Divine Age, 17, 79
Dreams, 40—41

E

Ema, 92
Emperor, (Emperors), primitive powers, 46–47; by divine right, 64; becomes a god, 64; not a god in modern times, 78; follows Buddhism, 65 ; High Priest, 65–66; his worship, 66; Confucian ideal of, 147; genealogies, 63, (See *Succession*)
Empire, its beginning, 46–47; established, 49
Ethics, primitive, 16, 139; no moral distinctions in the religion, 32–33; feudal loyalty characteristic of Japanese, 149 *sq.*; feudal Europe and Japan compared, 160; feudal system determines, 161; Chinese and Japanese compared, 150 *sq.*; ethical training, 155 *sq.*; defects in Japanese ethics, 152 sq., 160; separation from religion, 139, 170; Confucian, not dependent on immortality, 175 note
Evolution, defined 9

F

Faith (See *Salvation*)
Faber, Ernest, 175
Family, 13 *sq.*

Fear, not primary in religion, 32
Fishes, 18
Florenz, Karl, xv.
Folk etymology, 23
Funeral rites, 20

G

Gautama, (See *Buddha*), 94, 96, 97, 114, 123
God, doctrine of, taught by Nichiren, 136
Gods, like objects of nature and men, 18–31; how begotten, 21–22; god of war, 25; (Kami) defined, 28 *sq.*; sea, 39; rain, 22: god-body, 31 note; not always intelligent, 33; not necessarily good, 32–33; significance of names of, 58 *sq.*, (See *Divination*, *Revelation*)
Greater Vehicle, (See *Mahâyâna*)
Griffis, W. E., xvii., 22
Groups, social, 15–16

H

Hades, like earth, 17–24; Even Pass of, 20, 62
Harakiri, 154 *sq.*
Heaven, like earth, 17–18, (See *Confucianism*)
Hînayâna, (Little Vehicle), 91, 94, 95, 101, 106, 110
Hirata Atsutane, 74
History, beginning, 24; how far truthworthy, 63
Horde, 13, 15

I

Inconsistency, 4, 161
Izanami, 14, 19–20, 34, 41, 59–62, 72
Izanagi, 14, 19–20, 34, 39, 41, 59, 62, 72

J

Japanese, origin unknown, 12; primitive description of, 12 *sq.*
Jewels, 38
Jimmu Tenno, 24 note, 34, 46 note, 63
Jingo, 14, 25, 34

K

Kalpa, 82, 123, 127
Kami, (See "*gods*"), defined, 28 *sq.*
Karma, 104, 109–110
Kobo-Daishi, 98
Kojiki, (Records of Ancient Matters), xv. xvii.; its sources, 55–56; its purpose, 56–57, 66; Chinese influence upon, 57; date, 48; its frankness, 138
Korean, priests, 82–83
Knowledge, primitive, 17–18
Kwannon, 92

L

Le Conte, Joseph, definition of evolution quoted 9

Legends, origin, 24
Legge, 172
Lesser Vehicle (See *Hînayâna.*)
Lloyd A., xvi.
Lotus of the True Law, 135
Loyalty (See *Ethics.*)

M

Magic, 38, 39
Mahâyâna, 91, 93 *sq.*, 105, 119; development of doctrine, 90–91, 95–96; compared with Gnosticism, 136; Discourse, etc., 112; Epitaph, an, 112–113
Marriage, 13
Matriarchal, 14
Matter, 19
Mencius, 52, 186–187
Metaphysics, its necessity in Buddhism, 100–102, 104–105
Mind, undistinguished from matter, 19
Mirror, symbol of Sun Goddess, 31, 63
Misery, its place in Buddhism, 103 note
Monotheism, 26, 135–136, 172
Moon, 19, 62
Motowori, 69
Müller, Max, 107
Mya, (shrine), 80, 81, 82, 92
Mystery, 36 *sq.*
Mythology, 27; origin, 22 *sq.*
Myths, 23–26, 42, 46–74, 54; of creation, 58 *sq.*; of marriage, 60; of the founding of the Empire, 46, 63–64

N

Names, how derived, 15; folk etymology, 23
Nara, 88
Nature and supernature, 106 *sq.*
Nichiren (See *Sects*)
Nihongi, xv., xvii., 58, 67–69 date, 48
Nirvana, 96–97, 112–113, 129
Norito, 36, 65–66

O

Offerings, 37
Okakura, Kakuzo, 96 note, 195 note
Okina Mondo, 53–90, 164–166, 177
Omi Seijin, 183–185

P

Phallic worship, 22 note
Power, worshipped as divine, 33–34, proof of divinity, 34
Prayers, 35–38, 90, 92, 121, 123–128, 131, 134, 173, (See *Norito*)
Priest, monk, 27 note, 65, 66, 81, 83, 84, 89, 90, 116–118, 121, 126, 129, 166–167, 173–175
Primitive, its meaning, 11, 12

Primitive beliefs and rites, (Lecture I.), society of the Japanese, 12–13; family and marriage, 13–14; state, 15; ethics, 16; knowledge, 17–20; reasoning, 21–23; history and poetry, 24
Primitive religion, meaning of God (Kami), 27–30; objects of worship, 30–31; emotions, 31–32; ethics, 32–33; worship of power, 33–34; reverence, 35; dependence, 35; social, 36; prayers, 35–37; offerings, 37, charms and magic, 38–39; purification and tabu, 39–40; revelation, dreams, 40–42; divination, 41; religious consciousness, 42 *sq.*;
Propriety, (See *Confucianism*)
Punishments, 16
Pure Land, (See *Sects*)
Pure Path (See *Sects*)

R

Records of Ancient Matters, (See *Kojiki*)
Reformation of 645 A.D., 49–51, 81–86
Religion, nature discussed, 4, *sq.*; relation to rites and dogmas, 5, 6; as feeling, 6, 7; origin, 7, 8, 30; religion and theology, 8, 9; defined, 7, 9; development, 9, 10, 45; as wonder, 32; as adoration, 33 *sq.*; as dependence, 35; separation from ethics, 32, 170
Religion of Japan, defined, 1–4; review and summary, 191–195; future of, 195–196
Religion, Supernatural (See Lectures III and IV), origin, 106 *sq.*, relation to philosophy and science, 110 *sq.*; (See *Buddhism*)
Religious consciousness, primitive, 42, 44; Shintoist, 78–79; Buddhistic, 87, 88, 90, 91, 93, 99–101, 112, 128–132, 134–135; Confucian, 176–177, 180–185, 189–191
Revelation, 40
Reverence, 35, 36
Ritual, (See *Norito*)
Rock, 18

S

Sacred Books of the East, xvi., xvii.
Salvation by faith, 122 *sq.*
Samurai, 150–151, 154, 156 *sq.*, 167
Satow, Sir Ernest, xv.
Science, 17–20, 105 *sq.*
Sea, 17–18
Sects, many, 81; a. Ten Dai, 98; b. Shingon, 98–99, 101, 102; c. Zen, 100 *sq.*; d. Pure land, 122 *sq.*; distin-

guished from sects of Pure Path, 125 *sq.*; e. Shin, 124 *sq.*; its agreements with primitive Buddhism, 131, its divergence, 133 *sq.*; its oneness in spirit, 131; adapts itself to new conditions, 130; f. Nichiren, 135–136
Serpents, 18
Servants, entombed alive, 15
Sexes, their relationship, 158, 160
Shang-ti, 172
Shin-gaku-michi-no-Hanashi, 154
Shintai, (See *God-body*)
Shinto, (See Lecture II.) characterised, 1; modified, 3, 4, 67–68; its cause, 51 note; its sacred books, 55–56; its cosmogony and myths, 58–63; second stage, 65; supplanted by Buddhism, 64–65; as court ceremonial, 65, 66; revived, 68 *sq.*; "pure," 69 *sq.*; its apologetics, 69–74; its theology, 74–76; its prayers and rites, 75; its sanctions, 75; its present position, 77; its relation to patriotism, 78; its substance, 78–79
Shrine, (See *Mya*)
Sin, 27, 103 note
Soul, 26 note, 101, 103, 108, 109
Spirits, 28, 29
State, 15 *sq.*
Storm, 19
Succession, the, 14, 51 *sq.*, 55
Sun, (See Goddess), birth of, 22
Superstition, 44
Sutras, Buddhist Scriptures, 89 note, 94 note, 96, 115, 119, 122, 123, 124, 125
Sword, 37, 39, 155
Sympathetic magic, 39, 41

T

Tabu, 39–40
Taka-haya-susa-no-o-no-Mikoto, 22, 33, 62
Temmu, Emperor, 55
Temple, (See *tera* and *mya*), 30
Tera (temple) 80, 81, 82, 92
Theanthropic, 177 *sq.*
Theocratic, 177 *sq.*
Theology, religion and, 7–8, 27
Thunder gods, 19, 21
Tiele, C. P., 177
Tokugawa, 68, 118, 137, 183, 191
Torii, 80, 81
Transactions, Asiatic Society of Japan, xvi., xvii.
Transmigration, 103 *sq.*, 122
Tribe, 15, 46
Troup, James, xvii.

U

Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji-no-kami, 21
Unclean, 39–40

W

Western Paradise, 124, 129–130
Wife, 13
Woman, her position and duty, 151, 158, 159
Worship, its objects, 28–29, 30–31, 34, 66, 76, 88, 92, 106 *sq.*, 134, 171 *sq.*, 189 *sq.*; of power, 32 *sq.*; the, of the peasantry, 92–93
Wonder, the wonderful, as object of worship, 31–34

Y

Yamato Dake, 18, 24

Z

Zen, (See *Sects*)

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